

PEACE NEWS

No. 110

London, July 23, 1938

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Public Affairs COMMENTARY

by
"Vigilant"

"COLLABORATION"—BETWEEN WHOM?

THE Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Hungary visited Rome this week for conversations with their Italian counterparts. These occasions are, of course, always given an air of cordiality, and, as usual there were elaborately-worded phrases about not wishing to exclude any other country in their "policy of collaboration."

Yet somehow the fact remains that economic agreements between two, or perhaps a few more, countries tend (to say the least) to have an adverse effect on those countries which, though in need of "collaboration" in those spheres, are not specifically invited to take part in conversations to that end.

As these particular talks have concerned an area (the Danubian basin) in which other countries—and especially Germany and this country—are not only vitally interested but are showing signs of considerable concern over each other's separate activities, one would have thought that private bi-lateral talks were about the worst possible way of extending "collaboration."

This country has already issued the usual denial that its inquiries in that part of the world have any economic encirclement in view. It would be more convincing, as well as helping toward genuine cooperation, which alone can ensure a peaceful solution of this difficult problem, if we were to propose forthwith a South-East European regional economic conference with at least Italy, Germany, and this country taking part.

ROYAL VISIT TO PARIS

THE real significance of the royal visit to Paris was shown by the exchange of letters between the French and British Prime Minister. These letters simply reaffirmed what *The Times* on Monday called "the unchanged British attitude on outstanding questions of foreign policy."

But the visit is not meaningless. It is, indeed, meant to impress "all those whom it may concern" with the impossibility of driving a wedge between Britain and France.

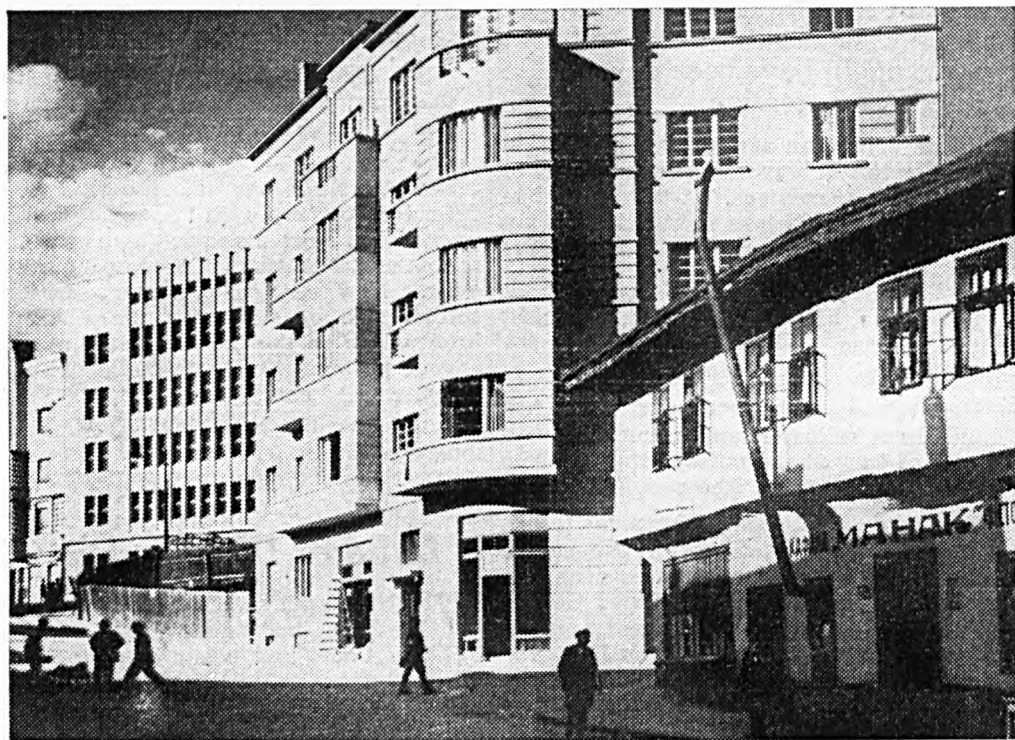
It demonstrates that Britain and France stand where they did in 1914. It shows, too, that Europe itself is drifting to a situation in which the nations will again be divided into two rival camps.

The British people thought they could afford to smile tolerantly when Hitler visited his fellow-dictator in Rome not long ago. Let them realize that this week's royal visit to Paris is in exactly the same category, for it is the outward show of a military alliance of the kind which brought Europe to catastrophe in 1914.

The comparison between the dictators' visits to each other and that of the royal family to Paris has, in fact, been drawn in Berlin. The "axis" conversations in Rome are held up in Berlin as examples of the form such talks should take, while the present Paris visit has given rise to uneasiness in case the rejoicings should be directed against the authoritarian States.

In the Italian press the Paris visit has been almost boycotted.

(continued on back page)



Old and new in Belgrade, capital of Yugoslavia and one of the cities to be visited by Mr. George Lansbury on his peace mission next month

Mr. Lansbury To Go On New Peace Mission

NEED FOR A LEAGUE OF PEOPLES

MR. GEORGE LANSBURY will start on another peace mission on August 15.

This time it will be to the Danubian countries, and he will visit Sofia (Bulgaria), Belgrade (Yugoslavia), Bucharest (Rumania), and Budapest (Hungary).

He will be accompanied—as on his journey to Central European countries in November and December last—by the Rev. Henry Carter and Mr. Percy W. Bartlett, secretary of Embassies of Reconciliation, the body which has arranged the tour. Mr. Lansbury will discuss with leading statesmen the question of securing peace through economic cooperation.

LEAGUE OF ALL PEOPLES

The same suggestions that he will doubtless discuss with them he put before a meeting in connexion with the Methodist Conference in Hull last week. If the League of Nations could not be reformed, he said, a conference should be called to set up international commissions to deal with territories, markets, and subject races now controlled by individual nations.

He added that he wanted a real league—a league of peoples whose primary duty it would be to find out how to use the world instead of how to destroy it. He had no faith in collective security by force of arms; he wanted collective security through cooperation, equity, and justice between nations.

WORLD STATE

The same problem of how to achieve peaceful cooperation between the nations of the world has been the subject of correspondence in *The Times*. Professor Charles K. Webster wrote on Saturday:

The modern State was in existence long before political philosophers were aware of the fact. It came into being through men using institutions and transforming them by action. It is likely that the world State will come into existence, if it ever does, by the same method.

Another correspondent, Mr. W. R. Bisschop, pointed out last week that if religious and other leaders would cooperate to bring about a meeting of representatives of European States, where difficulties could be discussed as between neighbours whose common interest would be the well-being of all, "such a meeting might be a milestone on the road toward the creation of that commonwealth which is so much desired."

(Devon welcome for Mr. Lansbury—page ten.)

Gave His Life for Arab-Jewish Peace

For urging moderation upon his Arab followers and for practising peaceful cooperation with the Jews, many of whom were his friends, one of Jerusalem's most respected Moslem leaders, Sheikh Nuri el-Hatib, was killed by terrorists last week.

The dead man was Imam of the Mosque of Omar, and was an opponent of the Grand Mufti.

He had already been threatened with death by Arab extremists because of his refusal to preach terrorism to his flock.

He had come to disregard those threats and did not have a bodyguard. The assassins followed him from his mosque and shot him in a narrow street.

PACIFIST MARCH ON LONDON BIG CAMPAIGN "HITS THE HEADLINES"

WITH a long-distance relay poster parade across London from Croydon to Hampstead this afternoon and evening (Saturday), and a great mass demonstration in Hyde Park tomorrow afternoon, the Peace Pledge Union will bring to a climax its Manifesto campaign.

The Manifesto coach, with its crew of campaigners, who set out from Carlisle on Tuesday and have been holding meetings at towns and villages on the way to London, will be greeted on arrival by PPU members from all over the metropolis and the Home Counties.

Every London member should—
Meet the coach at the Finchley Road end of the Watford By-Pass road, and follow it by car or cycle to Hyde Park; or
Meet at Lord's cricket ground to march to Hyde Park; or
Go direct to the Hyde Park demonstration. (Times of meeting, &c., will be found on page 12.)

CAMPAIGN IS IN THE NEWS

The Manifesto campaign has already "hit the headlines" in the national press. The news interest of the "trek from the North," as it has been called, is clear—whether or not the newspapers concerned admit that the proposals outlined in the Manifesto are a constructive alternative to war.

But not only the Manifesto campaign has been making news. About eighty members of the PPU paraded with posters when Mr. Hore-Belisha visited a military tattoo at Finchley football ground on Thursday of last week—a fact that was reported on the front page of the *Daily Herald*.

HORE-BELISHA HAD "PEACE NEWS"

A PEACE NEWS seller tried to persuade the War Minister to buy a copy while his car crawled through the crowded entrance gate, but Mr. Hore-Belisha waved a copy of the paper which he had already bought. Sellers called out: "Only twopence—not fifteen hundred million pounds."

The people who visited the tattoo (writes a correspondent) were no doubt very thrilled at the searchlights and the mock air raids, but the PPU members also gave them something to think about.

The pacifists came not only from Finchley but from Highgate, Crouch End, Hornsey, Finsbury Park, Islington, Golders Green, and Barnet. They gathered in full force around the approaches to the tattoo ground and started an impressive poster parade up and down Summers Lane and part of the Great North Road.

A COUNTER TO WAR PROPAGANDA

Some of the public's comments were amusing, and some were scornful, but there was no marked hostility. PEACE NEWS was sold and a large quantity of literature distributed.

There were actually two parades—one before and one after the tattoo—and although not everybody could stay for the second one, about twenty managed to do so and to keep the pacifist message going until 11.30 p.m., by which time the ground was practically clear.

DREW CROWDS FROM FASCIST AND COMMUNIST SPEAKERS

From the other side of London comes further evidence of the interest aroused by the pacifist message.

When the local PPU group held an open-air meeting outside Croydon Town Hall on Saturday night the fascists were holding a meeting on one side of them and communist speeches were being delivered on the other side, but there is no question that the pacifists had the biggest crowd.

At one period a rival speaker had an audience of two, while the other had a mere handful.

LABOUR M.P.s "BEGINNING TO FEEL PACIFISM MAY BE RIGHT"

—Dr. Alfred Salter

I find among my Labour Party colleagues in the House of Commons an increasing number—and I do not exclude Mr. Attlee—who are beginning to feel that perhaps the pacifist attitude is the right one after all, and are beginning to ask themselves where the present line of action of the Labour Party is likely to lead and land it.

THIS statement was made by Dr. Alfred Salter, MP for Bermondsey, at the Wessex Pacifist Council's annual rally at Taunton on Saturday.

Mr. George Lansbury, another speaker, urged the need for an international peace conference, embracing all countries—inside or outside the League of Nations. He declared:

If you cannot get Germany, Italy, Japan, and America into a League you can get them round a council table.

The other nations are waiting for a lead. Hitler, Mussolini, Blum, and all the Prime Ministers in Europe—and I have seen nearly all of them—say such a conference is not only desirable but that it must be held.

AIR WAR

Abolition the Only Safeguard

HOW LOCAL COUNCILS CAN ACT

THE Air Disarmament Committee is taking steps to persuade local councillors to bring before their councils resolutions similar to one adopted by East Ham Council a short while ago. This welcomed the proposed reopening by the Government of the question of air armaments, and continued:

This council believes that nothing short of the abolition of the air weapon will afford the peoples of our great cities reasonable security from the air menace, and it calls upon the Government to put forward for public examination plans for the control of civil aviation against abuse so that when negotiations are reopened on air disarmament, there may be the possibility of an international agreement which will bring a real measure of security to the peoples of the world.

A copy of the East Ham Council's resolution was sent to the Association of Municipal Corporations with the request that it should be circulated to members of the association. Should a majority of local authorities support the resolution, it has been suggested that the association should send a deputation to the Premier to urge the calling of an Air Disarmament Conference on the lines suggested in the resolution.

So far no action has been taken by the association.

Excuses that Condemn Frontier Bombing

A condemnation of air bombing on the North-West Frontier of India—because "the bad will escape, the more innocent will be the most punished"—by Mr. Arthur Osburn in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* last week brought from Air Commodore J. A. Chamier, Secretary-General of the Air League of the British Empire—a letter in its defence.

Commodore Chamier admitted that "certainly sick and feeble will suffer, but they suffer far less than they do from the great loss of male life resulting from military operations. They suffer less than the villagers who have been raided by their savage freebooting males."

The air force, he said, was used "to keep in reasonable order tribes for which we have international responsibility."

Mr. Osburn commented, in a reply published on Monday: "Commodore Chamier suggests that the people to be punished are all 'savage freebooters' (who would not be 'savage' when taxed by a government which employs the taxes to pay for further subjugation?), and he would punish 'savagery' with indiscriminate ruthlessness."

"We have got back, then, to the folly of savagery to end savagery and war to end war."

"With this same excuse of 'disorder' on the borders of Eritrea, or bolshevism, Mussolini has obtained some realistic training for his legions in Abyssinia and Spain. He asserts he is using the same pretexts and methods as the British Army in North-West India. Meanwhile our actions destroy any moral position we might otherwise have had when we reproach the Japanese or Italians for ruthlessness in China, Abyssinia, or Spain."

Parliamentary Notes

M.P.s TALK OF FOOD & FREEDOM—BUT ARMS THREATEN BOTH

I HAVE often remarked in these notes that most debates in the House of Commons now turn on some issue of the nation's preparedness for war. England's green and pleasant land and the planning of a brighter agricultural future for its people might have been expected to provide an exception.

The debate on agricultural production was as full of war-mindedness as any of the other discussions. If it was food of which the politicians talked, it was not so much to feed hungry folk as to serve as a reserve for war.

Land was being defertilized, said Mr. Lloyd George, and labour lost from the countryside.

Had William Cobbett been alive he, too, might have said the same thing, but with a note of fury at the outrage thus done to a free country and a free people.

But today, the House of Commons thinks of other things. It fears for the people because the shipping tonnage is even less than it was in 1914, and Mr. Lloyd George points with panic to its decreased capacity to transport its food from abroad in time of war, at the moment when its ships are more than ever at the mercy of submarine and aeroplane. Such arrangements as the Government had made to purchase whale-oil, wheat, and sugar, Mr. Lloyd George contemptuously dismissed as "no more than a fortnight of sugared blubber," if war came.

Actually the Government was able to show that there was a proportionately larger production of food at home now than in 1913, particularly in such things as eggs and meat. But the question, which neither Mr. Lloyd George nor the Government seemed to have considered, was: had this increased home production brought real prosperity to the people, or had it been to their greater cost? The real agricultural issue is: does the land feed the people?

The Free Trader, Mr. Lloyd George, told the protectionist Government that in the interest of war-preparedness the nation was not as self-sufficient as it ought to be. On the other hand, the Chamberlain Government was able to reply that our protectionism has made us more self-sufficient than the Free Trade Government of 1914.

Mr. Lloyd George affected to read Mr. Chamberlain a Free Trade lecture on the implications of the latter's speech on agricultural production at Kettering. But his own insistence on examining Britain's food problem as part of a problem of war makes Mr. Lloyd George as blind a leader to days of greater national prosperity as the Protectionist Government has proved.

Useless Swords

THERE was a good deal of plain horse-sense in Mr. Kirkwood's supplementary question about the use of the sword by military officers.

Someone had asked Mr. Hore-Belisha about a stipendiary magistrate's ruling that in a court of law an army officer ought not to wear a sword. The Minister for War said it should be worn as part of the officer's dress.

But what's the use of a sword in a court of law, exclaimed Mr. Kirkwood. What's the use of it anyhow, agreed Mr. Hore-Belisha, who said it was a long time since a sword had been used in this country.

People who make much of the sword as an instrument for the establishment of law might reflect with profit on this playful piece of parliamentary back-chat.

Stifling Criticism

PACIFIST MPs who speak in the House according to their convictions rather than their party's decisions, are often criticized by party loyalists in consequence. But even the loyalists fall into all sorts of schisms under the impulse of their new-found enthusiasm for a policy of rearmament.

The other day those two ardent Labour militarists, Messrs. Bellenger and Thurtle, fell foul of each other. Mr. Bellenger had done a very useful piece of work in wringing out of an unwilling War Minister the

information that the recent order for 5,000 Bren guns had been given to a Canadian company at a price higher than charged in the tenders of British firms.

Mr. Bellenger then wanted to know how, and on what sort of weapons, the tax payers' money was to be spent under the Anglo-Turkish (Armaments Credit) Bill.

Mr. Thurtle interrupted to say that this was "precisely the kind of information which potential enemies would like to get."

Mr. Thurtle is one of those who would defend democracy with "adequate" armaments. Yet he treats as anathema the very processes without which democracy cannot exist. How can parliamentary criticism subsist side by side with the stifling of information on the ground that it might—a very problematical might—be useful to a "potential" enemy?

Britain would have buried democracy long ago had its parliamentary representation been in the hands of the Thurtles.

Labour Did Its Duty

WHEN Colonel Heneage let it be known that he had discovered that the Military Court had never done the thing of which the Committee of Privileges had convicted it, the parliamentary storm in the teacup brimmed over into the saucer. Throughout the weekend the Speaker considered what he should do about it and the House waited anxiously for his decision.

The Tory press told the Speaker what he ought to do. And the Speaker judged, as the Tory press suggested he ought to judge, that the matter was of no further moment.

It is quite true that the technical question of privilege had ceased to be even a nine days' wonder. But it was at least a

healthy sign that the Opposition were dissatisfied with the decision to leave unexamined and unquestioned the responsibility for the attempt of some unnamed nabob at the War Office to interfere with and prejudice the inquiry of a Parliamentary Select Committee.

In the upshot the debate on Tuesday secured that the terms of reference of the Select Committee should be widened to enable them to inquire into the authorship of the order to Mr. Sandys, MP, to stand at attention in full martial panoply. So much was gained by the Opposition's unwillingness to let sleeping dogs lie, as the Speaker asked.

Mr. A. P. Herbert who, although he would like to be taken seriously as the member for the University of Oxford, played the part of the House of Commons humorist to perfection. With delicate raillery he lampooned both Mr. Churchill and the Prime Minister, and laughed the House out of its life-and-death seriousness. The clown rang down the curtain on the tragedy.

It is only right to add that the Opposition seems troubled in conscience at the enormous inroads which militarism is now making into our civil liberties.

Even at the risk of tiring the nation, which is already thoroughly bored about the privileges of the Old Mother of Parliaments, or even of appearing to draggle at the tail of Mr. Churchill's family expeditions, the Opposition had a duty to circumvent the Speaker's too facile haste to forget Mr. Sandys's uniform and sword.

James H. Hudson

Points from Answers

Commission on Inquiry.—Mr. Chamberlain said on July 13 that the Government had been endeavouring to form an International Commission which would be prepared to proceed to the scene of an aerial bombardment in Spain and report on the facts, at the request of the competent Spanish authorities concerned. It had been found impossible to form such a commission on an international basis. The Government proposed, in the hope that that may be acceptable to the two parties in Spain, to despatch a commission to France, consisting of two British nationals, for the purpose in view.

Bombing of British Ships.—After giving a detailed statement concerning the reply of the Spanish Rebels regarding the bombing of British ships, and the results of the consultations with Sir Robert Hodgson, Mr. Chamberlain was asked on July 13 whether any communication had been received from the Burgos authorities that some of those attacks were carried out without their orders and outside their control. The Prime Minister replied: "No, Sir."

Defence of Gibraltar.—Sir John Simon said on July 14 that the Committee of Imperial Defence already had under review the whole question of the strategical position of Gibraltar and of its defence in the light of recent events in Spain and the Straits of Gibraltar.

Sir John was then asked whether the committee was taking into consideration the allegations that German guns had been placed on the North African Frontier and opposite Gibraltar.

He replied:

I think we may safely assume that the committee not only acts without any partisan feeling, but takes into account all relevant considerations.

Loan for China.—Asked on July 14 whether, in view of all that had happened in the Far East, he felt that the claim of China to assistance in the form of a loan was at least as great as that of Turkey, Sir John Simon replied:

The circumstances of each case, of course, have to be weighed, and the circumstances of the present case are very grave and serious; but there is the consideration which must not be overlooked,

that in the case of Turkey we were dealing with a loan to a country which was not engaged in hostilities.

Anglo-Japanese Treaty.—

The Government has the right to terminate at any time the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of 1911 in respect of the British Crown Colonies to which it has been made applicable, by giving twelve months' notice to that effect. (Mr. Cross, July 11.)

Anglo-Italian Treaty.—After stating that there would be an opportunity for further discussion by the House on the treaty when the date of entry into force of the instruments in questions had been determined, Mr. Chamberlain was asked on July 13 whether it was not desirable that the House should discuss the agreement before it was brought into force, in view of the fact that it was an agreement based upon a phrase about a settlement in Spain which had never been defined and which the Prime Minister had consistently refused to elucidate.

Mr. Chamberlain replied:

I do not disagree with that view at all, but it would be rather difficult for me to give an unqualified assurance at this moment in circumstances which I cannot foresee. It might be that it would be necessary to call the House together again to consider the matter.

Mr. Chamberlain said he did not think it was useless for the House to discuss this after the date had been determined. If the House took a different view from the Government it could make it known.

Anglo-Turkish Agreement Bill.—Asked what type of armaments were to be exported from this country under the provisions of the Bill, Sir John Simon said on July 12 that the contracts which the Turkish Government had in mind were mainly for their naval requirements, and that their fulfilment would not be to the prejudice of the British rearmament programme.

Austrian Loans.—On July 14 Sir John Simon said that during negotiations with the German Government over the Austrian loans, no suggestion was made, or understanding arrived at, that Great Britain would refrain from any new commercial activities that might interfere with Germany's economic expansion in the Danubian or Baltic countries.

Sweden

STEP TOWARD WORLD-WIDE CHAIN OF UNIVERSITY UNITS

Call for Truth in Education as Reaction Against Militarism

From a Special Correspondent

MULLSJO, Sweden.

THE Universitas scheme, which provides for the formation of a world-wide chain of functionally determined university units, acting in close cooperation and exchanging teachers and students, was examined at a preliminary conference held here at the beginning of the month.

Members of the conference were impelled by a reaction against the folly of European militarism, and considered that a great part of the responsibility for the present state of affairs could be traced to the schools and universities of different countries, which had become servants of nationalism instead of guardians of truth.

A step toward the formation, in Sweden, of the first unit in the scheme, and the setting up of a central office, were among the practical results of the conference. The basic principles and aims of the Universitas Association, as it has now become, and details of other practical issues, are given in the following statements issued after the conference.

(Further information about the organizational and economic details of the scheme may be obtained from Mr. Charles H. Voreker, 11 Prince of Wales' Terrace, London, W.8. or from Mr. Torsten Malmros, Marston Hill, Mullsjö, Sweden.)

Basis and Aims of New Scheme

BELIEVING that the situation in Europe calls for a reconsideration of the educational aims and practices at present commonly pursued, a group of young men and women from various countries have met to consider the questions raised by this issue.

It was felt that there could be no fruitful discussion of these problems without a preliminary review and re-estimation of first principles. It was apparent that in spite of a widespread allegiance to a Christian code, the divorce between conviction and achievement, both in society and individuals, was such as to deprive this scale of values of any immediate significance.

BASIS OF THE "GOOD LIFE"

The attempt to formulate the basic principles of the good life in an idiom, at once congruous with modern thought and traditional wisdom, led the conference to put forward a metaphysical hypothesis upon the following lines: that life in every manifestation mirrors a continuous process from conception through maturity to birth, at once connected and distinct, and that the supreme end of life lies in the maintenance of the balance between these elements.

To fulfil such an end we must be prepared to alter our opinion of the relation between the group and the individual; see our activities of thought, will, and imagination as factors of a common spiritual advance; and finally to admit that both our daily life and educational policy, to be really purposive and significant, must be designed to encourage a balanced sensitivity to this fundamental problem of existence.

The furtherance of this aim demands an active

Norway

BETTER VALUE THAN ARMS

Spend Money On Others

From Our Own Correspondent

Unanimous condemnation of a resolution calling for armaments to defend the cultural heritage of Norway and to maintain its neutrality was a feature of the annual conference of the Norwegian Peace Association held at the beginning of July in Bergen.

The resolution was proposed by Professor Keilhau, vice-president of the Association, and provoked a lively discussion. Rektor Wergeland, a prominent Norwegian pacifist, agreed that for Norway neutrality was the best policy, but not if it were to be defended by military means.

Pastor Gyberg, leader of the most important Swedish pacifist association, who attended the conference in Norway, thought that if the money allocated to the Services were used to relieve the sufferings of other peoples the country would have far greater security than armaments could provide.

After Professor Keilhau's motion had been rejected resolutions were passed calling on the Norwegian Government to seize every opportunity to establish justice and good will among nations, and protesting against Norwegian rearmament (firstly because war of whatever nature is a crime against humanity, and secondly because, far from preventing a violation of neutrality, it would involve a terrible danger of Norway being dragged into a war).

A motion was also passed condemning all civil air raid precautions.

emotional cooperation in two directions: on the one hand an inward mystical union with the all-pervading reality, which the Chinese have so aptly called the Always So; and, on the other, an unstinting love and service of our fellow-men.

PLACE OF THE NEW UNIT

No current educational establishment adequately reflected this attitude of mind. The possibility of making good this deficiency by the provision of an educational unit, reorientated in terms of the agreed scale of values, was then discussed.

It was realized that, although no new departure could attempt to be a satisfactory substitute for many of the services rendered by the already established centres of learning, there was sufficient cause to warrant the creation of a parallel and complementary organization.

The ethos of this community being essentially catholic and cooperative, its structure would inevitably differ in certain particulars from that of the centres with which we are already familiar. The most significant of these new departures may be set forth as phases of what could be called a life-cycle, paying equal regard to the spiritual, cultural, and social facets of communal life:

1. That all specialized knowledge and teaching be balanced and completed within the framework of a general cultural background. (The principle of dual function.)

2. That the natural interdependence between the different ages be fostered for the purpose of a fuller education, as exemplified in the possibility of reciprocal learning and teaching at any stage of development. (The *docendo discimus* principle.)

3. That each cultural pattern should be represented by someone conversant with it at first hand. (The cultural reciprocity principle.)

4. That the education inherent in travel be emphasized and intelligently employed to give direct and extensive acquaintance with other communities; which shall alternate with periods of assimilation at a centre. (The home and travel principle.)

5. That no unit be permitted to exceed its ascertainable optimum with regard to size and efficiency, and that at every such point a new unit be formed. (The principle of maximum split.)

It was believed that a sincere attempt to form an educational community on these lines would be a real step forward.

Practical Issues

The practical expression of the ideals of the conference was planned on the following lines:

From an educational point of view it was decided that the subjects of a normal curriculum must be extended, reclassified, and interrelated in a new context, to avoid the rigidity of the traditional division into faculties, and the consequent restriction of cultural credit.

In terms of this formulation it was agreed that opportunities for imaginative and personal expression must be given scope alongside the traditional preoccupation with assimilation and representational knowledge. Moreover, the inevitable liaison between the different branches of art and science must be encouraged.

With regard to both the empirical and speculative sciences, there seems little doubt that whether in laboratories, libraries, or lecture rooms a new standardization and frame of reference is required.

SIZE OF UNITS

From a more strictly practical point of view, the useful size of a unit was thought to be about 180 persons, this number to include people of all ages and both sexes, the larger proportion of whom would be of normal school and university age, though, of course, the unit would tend not to supplant but be supplementary to the existing universities.

It was agreed that, though the institution would function throughout the year, there would be three distinct terms up to a maximum of seven months, of which two months in the spring would be spent in travelling.

The members of the community would co-operate in every possible sphere in order to avoid any divorce between the academic and practical aspects of living and any sharp division between senior and junior members. The moral and economic responsibility would, however, be vested in the resident fellows, whose remuneration would be fixed in relation to the cost of living, and should not include an undue luxury allowance.

Australia

New P.P.U. Will Have Friends in Japan

THE War Resisters' International is glad to announce that a section of the International has been formed in Sydney, New South Wales, which will be known as the Australian Peace Pledge Union.

The secretary is Mr. L. C. Rodd, Point House, McMahon's Point, Sydney, N.S.W., Australia.

A vigorous campaign has already been started against the proposal for compulsory military training, and arrangements are being made for a referendum in certain selected areas in order to test the feeling of the Australian people which the new movement is confident is strongly opposed to conscription.

All members of the Australian Peace Pledge Union will accept either the declaration of the WRI or that of the British PPU.

Arrangements are also being made to get into touch with and to establish friendly relations with Japanese pacifists, as fear of Japan is perhaps the most dangerous sentiment in the Australian continent.

Particulars of the Franco-German summer camp which the International League of Fighters for Peace is holding from August 1 to 15, in Alsace, and to which pacifists of all countries are invited, are obtainable from the league at 30 Rue Joubert, Paris.

U.S.A.

New Move in World Government Campaign

Congressman Hamilton Fish introduced today (July 12), at the New York State constitutional convention Memorial to President, United States: people of the State of New York, represented in State constitutional convention held in Albany respectfully urge President summon without delay World State constitutional convention to set up all-inclusive, democratic, non-military Federation of Nations, organized and modelled after the Constitution of the United States, in order to promote peace, justice, mutual understanding among nations.

MRS. LOLA M. LLOYD, of Chicago, at present in London, received this cable from the United States last week and knew that her campaign for a non-military Federation of Nations had succeeded in gaining support among influential Americans.

The New York State constitutional convention is one of the bodies elected to consider revision of the constitution of their respective States. They generally meet for several weeks.

The proposal for a Federation of Nations has (as reported in PEACE NEWS) already been outlined in a letter to members of both Houses of the US Congress, and a Bill has been drafted, providing for an American initiative in the calling of a world convention to discuss the constitution of the proposed federation.

The campaign has also been carried into the press.

It was due to the initiative of Mrs. Caroline Babcock, Eastern Director of the Campaign for World Government, that the proposal has been brought before the New York State Constitutional Convention.

South Africa

Interest Aroused by Peace Campaign

IN April and May PEACE NEWS published two short reports of progress from John Mellor, then in South Africa. It is now possible to review his peace tour as a whole, and to form some opinion of its value.

The difficulties of such a campaign were not under-estimated. The history and traditions of the country have not made it congenial soil for the gospel of pacifism; racial bitterness has by no means entirely subsided; the treatment of the native and coloured races presents the gravest problems for the future.

On the other hand, Mr. Mellor's long residence in South Africa had made him familiar with its atmosphere and problems, and the meetings held in many places could hardly have been arranged at all but for the active interest shown by his personal friends.

3,000 MILES COVERED

Some 3,000 miles were traversed on land, in the course of which 25 centres were visited and fifty meetings addressed, the total number of people attending them being about 2,700. Audiences varied from 300 to three. At all the meetings ample time was allowed for questions, and of this full advantage was taken, well over 200 questions being asked.

A noteworthy feature of the tour was the sale and free distribution of literature supplied by the Peace Pledge Union and

Fellowship of Reconciliation. Approximately £10 was actually received from the sale of pamphlets, costing one or two pence each, an equal quantity was given away, and £6 worth were left for sale by local representatives.

Throughout the whole country there were very few pacifists, and these were isolated and unconnected with any peace organization. In two centres luncheon talks were given to members of the League of Nations Union, and in two others there had recently arisen small groups of the War Resisters' International, which co-operated closely with Mr. Mellor.

LIVELY INTEREST AWAKENED

In such circumstances it would be optimistic to expect the immediate conversion of any considerable number to the pacifist faith.

Attempts were made, however, to start wherever possible, branches of the FoR or of the FoR and WRI combined, and these endeavours were to a large extent successful; there is every reason to believe that in at least ten centres there are active branches started.

A further very desirable step was taken in the appointment of the Rev. A. H. Blaxall, of Johannesburg, as organizing South African secretary, to keep in touch with headquarters in London and to give advice and encouragement to the branches in South Africa.

The success of such a mission is not to be measured merely by statistics. There is ample evidence that it has everywhere provoked the liveliest interest. There is some foundation now upon which a large and enduring structure can be built. The tour has, in fact, been worth while.

UNREST THAT LEADS TO WAR

Explained in

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NEW BOOKS

A DUCHESS AND THE COMMUNISTS

Searchlight on Spain. By the Duchess of Atholl. Penguin Special. 6d.

Reviewed by George Orwell

IT does not need pointing out that no-one has yet succeeded in writing impartially about the Spanish war. What is rather less obvious is that no-one has even succeeded in writing impartially about the internal political situation on the Government side.

The fact which the English press has carefully obscured is that there is not, and never has been, such a thing as a neutrally "Republican" viewpoint.

There are really three versions of the Spanish war: the communist, the anarchist, and the "Trotskyist," each more or less irreconcilable with the others. This has got to be kept in mind when reading a book like *Searchlight on Spain*, which is written strictly from the communist standpoint—indeed, with the excision of not very many sentences it could pass as the work of a communist party member.

Consequently, whenever the Duchess of Atholl touches upon the internal political issue, the intrigues between the different parties, the conflicting policies of anarchists and communists, &c., &c., one has got to remember that one is simply getting a partisan statement.

But with this reservation her book can be thoroughly recommended. It is a clear, simple outline of the war and its origins, well documented, though written in a "popular" style, and keeping the main events in the right proportion.

From start to finish—and the latest date at which any history of the Spanish war can begin is 1931—it is a heartbreaking story. It starts with peasants starving on sixpence a day, and it ends with a million violent deaths. And perhaps the ugliest episode in the whole story is the so-called non-intervention scheme.

There was a strong case for real non-intervention, if it had been practicable. To isolate the war would have been to bring it to an end in a few months. Instead of which the callous hypocrisy of the British Government, more perhaps than any other one factor, has led to the results we have seen.

This book is in the same line of succession as the earlier "Penguin Specials," *Mussolini's Roman Empire* and *Blackmail or War*. Like them, it manages to combine "anti-fascism" with imperialism. Anyone who has thought the matter over knows that imperialism and anti-fascism, if this word means anything, do not go very well together, and the increasing prevalence of books of this kind raises a very difficult problem.

It can be stated in the form of two questions. First, why is it that people thoroughly entrenched in the British capitalist system can now describe themselves as anti-fascists? Secondly, why is it that the British Government is in outward appearance surrendering to the dictators, and at the same time piling up arms?

I suggest, rather tentatively, that this problem can only be solved on the supposition that our governing class is deliberately preparing for war.

Meanwhile this is as readable a short history of the Spanish war as we have yet had. For a weightier and more learned treatise from approximately the same standpoint, I would recommend Mr. Frank Jellinek's *The Civil War in Spain*. For a non-propagandist history we shall have to wait five years, always supposing that at the end of that time a free press is still in existence.

EASTERN AND WESTERN IMPERIALISM

Japan's Gamble in China. By Freda Utley. Secker and Warburg. 6s.

This volume, of 300 pages, is very full of information which certainly should be possessed by those who write or speak on the Sino-Japanese problem. Professor Laski, who contributes a short introduction,

describes Miss Utley as having "made herself a distinguished authority upon the economic aspect of Far Eastern politics" and speaks of the ultimate victory of Japan as something that would aid "the dark forces of civilization all over the world."

Miss Utley's main contention is that Japan, moved by "the growing unity and strength of China," determined "to make a final attempt either to conquer her great neighbour or to plunge her back into anarchy and powerlessness."

Japan appears to have come to the conclusion that if China realized herself as a single great nation, and acted accordingly, it would be a day of destruction for herself. China at present is so deeply engaged in defending herself against a ruthless invasion that it may be impossible to give any answer to the Japanese obsession on this point.

Miss Utley gives a very full account of Japanese economic and social difficulties—not over-sympathetic, save where she is dealing with the poverty of the peasants and lower middle-class—and studies carefully such matters as the alleged over-population problem, and whether Japan is really a fascist country.

Big business and the army rule anyhow and the Diet has no real power, for it "does not possess the right of either appointing or controlling the executive" and "it is *lèse majesté* to attempt to get the constitution altered." There is also "the myth of the Emperor's divinity" which still plays a great part in the life of the nation.

Miss Utley's handling of China is naturally much more sympathetic. Perhaps the most interesting thing here is her exposition of the part played by the communists, a matter that somewhat puzzles most English people.

Her exposure of British and German policy is also masterly, summed up perhaps in her quotation from *The Times* of August 20 last, to the effect that the free hand in Eastern Asia must "in no circumstances include licence to play havoc with the lawful interests of Great Britain."

"Merely Chinese lives and property. . .!" comments the author.

If one-sided in many ways it is none the less a very able and competent book, deserving every study by students of events, and pacifists.

CARL HEATH

A CASE FOR CONCILIATION

The Indian Federal Problem. By Carl Heath. Indian Conciliation Group. 1d.

This little pamphlet is a timely reminder to the British public that they must not fall into the mistake of thinking that all the problems of India were finally settled when the Government of India Act was passed in 1935, after eight years of commissions, conferences, and Parliamentary debates, and that henceforth there is no need for us to concern ourselves about the affairs of India any more than about those of Ireland.

The new constitution has given responsible self-government, under Indian Ministers, to the eleven provinces of British India, and those new governments are now working efficiently and smoothly. But the Act of 1935 provided also for a new Central Government which should make a Federal Union of the British Provinces and the Indian States.

Some kind of a federal union in the near future seems to be a necessary and inevitable development; but the difficulties and dangers of the present situation lie in the fact that politically-conscious India has unanimously and uncompromisingly rejected the whole of the federal system provided for in the Act.

The reasons for this rejection are set forth in detail in Carl Heath's pamphlet. Briefly stated, the main objections are firstly, that the system involves the indefinite continuance of imperialist domination over India; and secondly, that autocratic States and democratic provinces cannot be yoked together until the internal constitutions of the States have been transformed by some recognition of the basic civil liberties of their subjects.

Under these circumstances to impose the Federal Constitution with a high hand, not only without the consent of those to be governed under it, but in the face of their strenuous opposition, would be wholly contrary to all democratic principle "and, in the present state of the world, would be fraught with further grave danger to the peace of the East."

Mr. Heath pleads for a solution of the impending deadlock along the path of peaceful procedure. This will be possible

if the Indian Princes and the British Government, each in their own sphere, will cooperate with the responsible and elected leaders of British India in working out the terms of an agreed settlement.

F. G. PRATT

A WORKING-CLASS NOVEL

The Secret Kingdom. By Walter Greenwood. Jonathan Cape, 8s. 6d.

The characteristics that mark most novels that attempt to tell stories of working-class life are self-consciousness and a too deliberate morality.

The self-consciousness comes from inadequate knowledge of the details that make up the genuine texture of a social background; it produces made-to-measure symbolism of the toughness fantasy.

The morality comes from an earnestness of purpose that has outstripped imagination, and produces parables, nowadays generally political, that make it plain what point they are to prove by the end of the first paragraph.

Walter Greenwood does not labour with proofs or with symbolism. He does not get "tough." He knows enough about his characters and the small moments of their lives to make them human, and their story, as he tells it, is unshapely but convincing.

The core of the story is a woman's struggle to give her children a better kind of life than she had herself.

A husband, who is agreeable and loving but a drunkard, complicates a struggle that without him would have been intense enough. Debt, unemployment, endless grind, surround her, her two sisters, and her father. Both her sisters lose their husbands in a mine disaster; her father, a skilled craftsman, his work becoming less valuable because of increasing machinery, is shown dyeing his hair to conceal his age for fear of dismissal. It is told in a matter-of-fact way, without hammering on the pathos.

But that she is in the end successful, that her son emerges from the dinginess of Palatine Street to play the Kreutzer Sonata for the BBC—the wireless is wonderful, isn't it?—is a comfort. The book is not quite strenuous enough for tragedy, nor decisive enough to dare to end in indecisiveness.

MORNA MACTAGGART

CAMPS FOR THE UNEMPLOYED

Beware! Slave Camps and Conscription. By Wal Hannington. National Unemployed Workers' Movement. 1d.

For the moment schemes of civil conscription in the form of labour camps and national service training appear to be in abeyance. The reception given to kite-flying articles and letters in *The Observer* and *The Times* was not encouraging.

But, as PEACE NEWS revealed last February, in an article which this pamphlet quotes, there is little doubt that these suggestions were more than the casual thoughts of individuals, and had the support of a coordinated body of propagandists. They may appear again.

Meanwhile there seems to be some evidence that the same tendency is at work in camps for the unemployed who are less able to resist pressure than ordinary wage-earning citizens.

Wal Hannington's pamphlet does not give any clear impression of impartiality, but some of his allegations should be investigated, as, for example, that, though unemployed camps are said to be for the unfit, at many camps it is the fittest men who are being chosen.

BACK TO HENRY GEORGE

A Philosophy of Peace. By Douglas J. J. Owen. Henry George Foundation. 2d.

As an advocate of complete free trade, Mr. Owen commends the Van Zeeland Report itself, and the Peace Pledge Union for giving it so prominent a place in its manifesto. "This manifesto," he says, "though it has no mention of land monopoly or economic rent, yet by implication and tendency is one more sign that the Henry George philosophy of peace still stands unshaken by the storm."

But, he adds, "peace lovers who see the dangers of tariff barriers will never find a secure resting place at that point. The ark of the pacifist movement, floating somewhat aimlessly on the waters of the flood, must bring itself to the land, to the Ararat of Henry George's philosophy of peace."

LIBERAL PACIFISM

Conscription and Foreign Policy. By Vates. The Cobden Club. 2d.

This pamphlet may be of service as a basis of appeal to members of the Liberal Party, though perhaps more because it has the imprint of the Cobden Club than because of any particular novelty in its argument.

There is a strong defence of the liberty of the individual conscience, and an attack on conscription as the forerunner of tyranny. Gladstone and Campbell-Bannerman are quoted for those for whom these names still have magic authority, but without its being pointed out that in the days of naval supremacy it was possible to renounce conscription without renouncing war.

In modern conditions pacifism needs a profounder basis than pre-War Liberalism, even of the less imperialist variety. This is indicated by the fact that the author's argument, sound though it is in many ways, does not lead up to any more dynamic conclusion than a policy of no foreign commitments.

DR. GLOVER AND MR. REED

Poetry and Anarchism. By Herbert Read. Faber, 6s. net.

Reviewed by Max Plowman

THIS is a notable book. It is the work of an artist who has been compelled to turn aside and look at our social institutions. Whenever a serious artist does that, we do well to pay attention; for it is his habit to look at things very clearly.

Mr. Read sees, thinks, and speaks plainly, and the result is a book of 126 pages which contains a more profound criticism of modern society than is to be seen in the extensive works of the professional sociologists.

One would need to be a great critic to do justice to this book in 500 words. It is itself a model of conciseness and surveys so many aspects of human activity that the reader is tempted to present it with alternative titles. Had Mr. Read been half as concerned with approval as he is with the business of thinking clearly and speaking truly, he might have called it *In Defence of Mankind*, or *The Reciprocal Duties of the Individual and the State*, or *The Nemesis of Bureaucracy*, or *Order in a Living Society*, or, more simply, *Why I am not a Pacifist*.

In the chapter on "The Prerequisite of Peace," which will naturally be of greatest interest to pacifists, Mr. Read says:

This thesis [Dr. Edward Glover's well-known *War, Sadism and Pacifism*] has done much to discredit the present methods of pacifist propaganda: moreover, it explains why some of us, who are pacifists in reason, have never been able to be pacifists in practice. We have been aware of the fact that most of our fellow-pacifists are actuated, not by rational motives, but by an obscure perversion of the very instinct which should be recognized and rationally controlled.

Well, well! Dr. Glover may have done much for the psychology of pacifists, and they offer him thanks in so far as he has contributed to knowledge; but, as Mr. Read admits, Dr. Glover has done nothing to improve "the present methods of pacifist propaganda," nor to prevent himself, or his neighbour, from experiencing the debauchery of war. And it is the imminence of war, not the psychology of pacifists, which chiefly concerns the world today.

There is a species of person who, when his house catches fire, thinks the moment appropriate to study the instinctive reactions of firemen to danger. No doubt he does God service, if his observations are sufficiently accurate; but he is hardly the man for the moment. And when Mr. Read lugs Dr. Glover in, he appears almost like a gynaecologist at a fire.

Mr. Read has obviously called in the wrong man; in fact, he admits as much when he says that to

undertake the research programme outlined by Dr. Glover . . . involves, in fact, handing over the supreme power in each country to the modern equivalent of the philosopher-king—to the psychological expert. I think that most nations would rather perish than do that.

Only it appears, unfortunately, as if Mr. Read had found in Dr. Glover a way of avoiding the very personal question which Mr. Read, as a sane individualist, would have been ready to entertain—the question really proposed by the peace pledge: "Are you willing to be caught up in the war-machine or not; and if not, what are you now doing about it?"

But Mr. Read, leaving Dr. Glover in the air, goes on:

The only realistic approach, because the only approach which promises immediate and far-reaching changes in the structure of society, is the revolutionary approach.

That is admirable. But what is pacifism but the most immediate, practical, and revolutionary "approach" possible? Pacifism, moreover, has the advantage of being the only revolution which the advocate of peace can begin at once, and in the place where all revolutions of any worth must begin—in the individual himself.

Dodge the necessity of pacifism, and it becomes easy to talk about the necessity of anarchism, communism or fascism, somehow, some day. But to acquiesce in the complete militarization of the society we are actually living in is to acquiesce in the "economic slavery" and "moral inhibition" which Mr. Read rightly stigmatizes.

Mr. Read has all the qualifications for a pacifist except the willingness to believe that his personal activity matters. He may be assured that it matters profoundly.

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The Part Women Must Claim

**A Woman's
Point of View**

Last week Mrs. Swanwick dealt with "The Part Allotted to Women."

IT is unhappily true that even in countries where women are relatively free (although almost entirely cut off from direct responsibility) only a small proportion, as yet, of really authentic women judge and speak from the depths of women's instincts, experience and thought.

The great majority still follow the crowd of men according to class, or party, or church; they merely echo men's instincts, men's experience, men's thought. If they do make an essentially womanly judgment, they put it forward apologetically, almost timidly.

Many are bold, even strident, only when they have taken men's point of view. One actually hears women of intelligence and education put forward the plea of "honour" as justification for the mass-murder which is war; as if a woman should not know that honour cannot depend upon physical force: for if it did, no woman could have honour.

One hears some women taunt men for cowardice, on the ground that they are endeavouring to keep out of war. Yet they should know that physical courage is by far the commoner form of courage. Even gangsters often possess it.

SOME men tell us that no one desires war; it is in the name of defence that they devastate the world. Women should point out that there are far safer ways of defence than the way of threats, which some day come due for redemption.

Some men tell us that it is for justice and the sanctity of treaties (many of them completely unsanctifiable) that men must kill; proving themselves still savage enough to believe in ordeal by battle. They have, however, modernized the ordeal so far that it has become less and less a fight between men and men, having developed into the mass-killing of populations and the devastation of their homes.

Some men, seeking desperately for a more modern pretext (because all these pleas are not true causes), cry for war to make the world safe for democracy. There have been several such wars, the most extensive being that which began in 1914 and which has never really ended. As it proceeds, more and more dictatorships arise, conscription of various kinds spreads, censorship, avowed or unavowed, multiply, civil liberties decay, human intercourse becomes increasingly restricted and women lose the few painful inches they seemed to have gained. It must be so. War requires these sacrifices.

It is not defence; it is not justice; it is not democracy that such men crave. It is domination. The very begetters of the League of Nations destroyed their own work, because they thrust domination into the room of confidence.

WOMEN may find ways of creating the confidence which is the only condition under which cooperative peace can grow; ways derived from their own quite peculiar experience of a world in which they are, by nature, constrained to live without the appeal to compulsive force. They may

the second article by Mrs. H. M. SWANWICK, author of "Collective Insecurity" and "Roots of Peace"

throw their weight with that of such men as reject the savage superstition of forcible defence of honour.

And while they urgently claim their right to a due share of responsibility in the task of saving the race, they must be assiduous in the task of fitting themselves for that responsibility.

They must learn to study the psychology of war, to be bold enough to trust their own judgment and to act upon it.

There are not two kinds of truth: a man's truth and a woman's truth. Truth is one. But it is rare indeed, especially in social matters, for men and women to see truth from the same angle, and this they never do when they do their thinking and feeling apart.

WOMEN are brave; they will have to be extraordinarily brave in very difficult ways if they are to do their work. Obviously some of their most vital work must be the care of the children, the old, the sick and crippled.

It is not conceivable that they should, in the mass, abandon these willingly, though war always forces such abandonment on them. But they can, hard as it may be, refuse to allow themselves to be made part of the war machine which the men they love are working, to the destruction of all human values.

**Other
Women's Jobs**

A Mannequin

PEOPLE who envy mannequins, and sigh after such a glamorous job, should try it for a few weeks. The only qualifications needed are certain measurements and a pretty face.

My job is with a wholesale firm. Every morning I clock in at 9 a.m., remove my dress, put on a wrapper that zips from neck to hem, and white satin shoes with four-inch heels.

One special showcase is in my charge, and I must see that torn parts are mended, fastenings are in perfect order, any smears of lipstick are removed. I must also know by name every one of over eight hundred constantly changing models, and be able to find immediately whichever one is required by fitters or cutters. If I fail to find it immediately I must put up with sarcasm, sneers, and abuse.

Despised by Others

All the dressmakers, cutters, fitters and designers of the firm despise the mannequins who, according to them, do no work, have no talent, and just exploit their bodies. They pay back this resentment by sending us on unnecessary errands, treating us like galley slaves, and forcing us to stand for hours.

When I have mended my dresses, and taken several up and down four or five flights of stairs, the chief saleswoman commands me to help her to fill her travellers' cases. She is Irish and fiery and abusive. I obey her orders and am sworn at for doing so.

A Customer Arrives

In the middle of this a customer arrives. Six of us peel off our wrappers, summon a dresser and scramble into morning

dresses. The dressing-room is 8 feet by 12 feet, contains two showcases of clothes, two hard chairs, and a small mirror.

The manager arrives, then the chief saleswomen, the fitter, the tailor, and the stockroom supervisor. Twelve adults and about 200 dresses in a room of that size.

Temper fly; we are forced in and out of dresses at lightning speed. We give a despairing pat at ruffled hair and saunter into the salon—cream walls, parchment lamps, alabaster vases, and pile carpets inches thick.

Move from the hips—tummy in—head and shoulders back. Display, in a few movements, the line, the material, the special point of interest, stroll back—to be seized and redressed, and flung back into the salon.

The excitement and spleen of the manager and other interested parties is vented on us. We dare not answer back, dare not powder our noses, dare not let them shine.

A Model Wanted

Suddenly a designer phones for a model. I am sent. I climb four flights of stairs, and stand for an hour and a half on a broiling summer day in four-inch heels while a dress is draped on me. I dare not droop, or move, or flinch when a pin is stuck in me.

When I am free again my muscles are so numb I can scarcely crawl downstairs. Other customers have arrived. The dressing-room is an inferno. I plunge in.

At 3.25 p.m. I have lunch. The afternoon is a repetition of the morning, and ends in theory at 6 p.m. In fact, I begin fighting for my bus at 7.15 p.m.

My back aches. My feet are swollen, and I am so tired that I can hardly see where I am going. There are no millionaires in sports cars waiting for me.

Too Old at Thirty

When I began I was paid 17s. 6d. per week. This crept by slow stages to £3 per week.

This is the maximum wage for this type of work, and in five years' time, when I am thirty, I shall be too old—unless I take care to keep my present measurements.

WOMEN'S CAMPAIGN

There has been a most encouraging response to the appeal I made for women who were prepared to help in a campaign against the regimentation of women for war service. I am sending out forms to all those who have written to me, on which volunteers can give details of the kind of help they are prepared and able to give.

A special leaflet for the campaign is at the printers and will be ready in a few days.

Are there any other women who are willing to give their support to this attempt to organize women for peace instead of war? Please write, however little you can do to help us, to "A Woman's point of View," PEACE NEWS, 17, Featherstone Buildings, W.C.1. The need is urgent.

M. S.

COULD STOP WAR

From a Correspondent

Lady Sibell Argles, President of the Notts. Federation of Women's Institutes, told delegates to the summer council meeting at Newark last week:

I cannot help thinking that the influence of women is such that if every woman in every country of the world was absolutely determined to help peace, there never would be another war.

Her remark, made during a reference to the international situation, caused more enthusiastic applause than was shown at any other time in the session.

The President had previously urged members to carry out the advice of Lady Denman by "maintaining the educational and social character of women's institute meetings, thus providing for the members a centre of tranquility and cheerfulness in a sadly troubled world."

"Do let us all take our cue from this," said Lady Sibell. "If every women's institute member throughout the country would work to promote peace in her home, in her institute and in her village, we should really be living up to our motto, and we should be doing something to make our country a better place to live in."

AESOP RETURNS

NOW there was a man who could not sleep. And he went unto a physician, and said unto him, Behold, I cannot sleep, and I worry. And the physician looked at him, and listened at him, and thumped him, and besought him to repeat a certain number.

And the physician marvelled, saying, I find nothing wrong with thee, that thou canst not sleep, and worriest. But the physician was wise, and he questioned the man further, saying, Thy money, how is it invested? And the man made answer, In shares that today are worth many shekels, and tomorrow are not.

Then said the physician unto him,

Go, sell thy shares for what they will fetch, and invest such money as remaineth unto thee in St. Pancras Building Society, where no depreciation ever taketh place and thou shalt have four per cent. per annum, and thy tax collector nothing.

And the man heeded the words of the physician, and did as he had said. And he rejoiced exceedingly and ever afterwards slept soundly from dusky eve till dewy morn; nor worried he at all.

These are the words of the sage Æsop, and wise indeed is he who hearkeneth unto them and sendeth a postcard for further particulars to:

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GLORIOUS MORNING
by Norman Macowan

THE MESSAGE OF THIS PLAY, DELIVERED WITH
BLAZING SINCERITY AND STRENGTH, IS THAT
"THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM IS THE CAUSE OF GOD."

Peace-making that is Hard Work

WORK OF THE I.V.S.P.

described by Professor J.W. Harvey,
chairman of its British branch

IT is now eighteen years since what is known in England as the International Voluntary Service for Peace came into being, when, on the proposal of a German at a congress of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation in 1920, a group of volunteers undertook a small piece of reconstruction work in the devastated area of Northern France.

Including at times German, Austrian, Swiss, Dutch, American, and British nationals, a small team laboured for some five months to rebuild barns, repair a road, and clear and clean up gardens and fields for cultivation.

Since then, from its international headquarters in Switzerland or through the British headquarters, the IVSP has organized services every year on a larger or smaller scale, in Switzerland, France, Liechtenstein, Great Britain, or Sweden.

Generally these have taken the form of reconstruction work of some sort, to repair the ravages of flood or storm or avalanche. In Britain the endeavour has been to bring some new hope or amenity into a locality suffering from impoverishment and unemployment, and useful work has been done in this way at Brynmawr and Blaenavon (South Wales), Rhos (North Wales), Oakengates (Shropshire), and Gateshead.

Not Just a Holiday

VOLUNTEERS in an IVSP service do not pay anything for board and lodgings. In return they are expected to bring to their work something more strenuous and disciplined than the spirit of an unconventional holiday. From seven to eight hours hard manual labour is done daily.

Women volunteers ("sisters") do the cooking, washing, mending, and cleaning, and theirs is perhaps a more exacting labour than the pick and shovel work of the men.

All the volunteers have meals together, and in the evenings there are opportunities for discussions, song, and that mutual interchange of outlook and point of view which does so much to make an IVSP service the fine experience it is.

There is nearly always an abundance of nationalities represented.

I remember a discussion on an English hillside in which Dutch, Danish, German, Czech, Austrian, Swiss, and British speakers all took friendly part.

The theme was "Nationalism," which might have been thought a risky topic, especially as two of the speakers represented an ultra-nationalist point of view. Yet, if some warmth was engendered, there was no ill will, and next morning all the disputants were playing their picks and shovels in entire amity.

This Year's Service

THE only IVSP continental service this year is to be at Herzberg (Aargau, Switzerland).

An Ideological Cow and the Brotherhood of Man

LOOKING back on the Popish Plot, Bishop Parker wrote in his memoirs:

There were two enchanting terms which at the first pronunciation could, like Circe's intoxicating cups, change men into brutes, viz. Popery and French interest. If men otherwise sober heard them once it was sufficient to make them run mad.

That such witchery is still in the world I realized lately when, working on a land settlement in a Glamorgan mining town, I heard a distant peevish shout, "Take that b—— pro-Franco cow off my plot, you b——!"

A pro-Franco cow. Why not? Or a Trotskyist cow or an anarcho-syndicalist cow. For though leaders may understand the things which they hate, the rank and file hate because they are told to, because malice spices a dull life.

IT is easy merely to laugh at the ideological conflict, to say "a plague on both their blouses," and, leaning back, praise God for the inner light which we have been privileged to see. Pacifists can be very smug.

Sometimes I understand and sympathize with Sydney Smith, who declared after dinner that his only unfulfilled ambition was to roast a Quaker—"It may be wrong: the Quaker would undoubtedly suffer acutely, but everyone has his little tastes and one would satisfy me, only one. . ."

THERE is a danger, as the war seems to draw nearer and we are gradually pushed out into the political wilderness, that the pacifist may appear to have his eyes turned inward, intensely cultivating his own soul.

And that is why, though there is no

erland). This is the home of an admirable People's College founded in 1919 by a man of high ideals and educational vision, Fritz Wartenweiler.

It aims at arousing in its students a sense of nationality and responsible citizenship. But its outlook is so wide, its spirit so genuinely humane, pacific, and international, that in helping forward its work the IVSP will be furthering the cause of peace which is its own *raison d'être*.

The volunteers will be engaged in leveling a piece of ground for gymnastic exercise and in building a road.

The special aim of this service will be the training of group leaders in any IVSP undertaking a great deal depends on the leader.

For it is a distinguishing feature of the movement that it accepts a certain discipline in its work because it aims at showing that a peace movement of this sort need not be in any sense happy-go-lucky or unsystematic in the way it is run.

That the typical IVSP service maintains so fine a spirit of friendly and strenuous cooperation is a tribute to the quality of the leaders it has been able to secure.

Offers of service for Herzberg should be sent to the Secretary of the British section of IVSP at 1, Lyddon Terrace, Leeds, 2.

objection to cultural dancing and vegetarianism and mixed knitting circles in themselves, my ideal pacifist is "of the earth, earthy," more likely to be understood by the working class:—

A matter of fact young man,
A Chancery Lane young man,
A very delectable, highly respectable
Threepenny bus young man.

Now, of all times, the pacifist must seem rational; for the Spanish war is the biggest challenge he has had to face. A popular front government, legitimately elected, honestly carrying out a policy of social reforms, is being overpowered by a combination of those elements which we most detest, the religious bigot and the military adventurer, the gambling capitalist and the desperate foreign dictator.

Yet I,

A dull and muddy-mettled rascal, peak
Like John o' Dreams unpregnant of my
cause.

The Labour Party, for example, can cry bold slogans: "Save Spain, Save Peace!" "Arms for Spain!" "They are fighting your battle in Spain!"

We can only protest mildly that *tout comprendre c'est tout pardonner*; that Franco's army is largely illiterate and uncomprehending; that we, who treasure odd little memories like "the 45" in the lavender cupboard of romantic history, but for the grace of God might ourselves have gone crusading for the Church in Spain.

We can only brandish for our slogan a platitude, the common brotherhood of man—even of pro-Franco man.

A FEW days after the Anschluss I was in Innsbruck. In the evening sun I sat on the bridge. The most sweetly medieval

city in Europe was streaked with fascism; huge red and black banners danced shamelessly on every roof and across the bridge sauntered a harlequinade of pompous uniforms, each with a Tyrolean maiden on arm.

As I sat and pondered and scowled a small boy got down from a brewer's cart and put ten gröschen in the battered sunhat which lay beside me: a girl crossed the road and did the same. In five minutes there were eighty gröschen—or the price of a bottle of wine.

For a face as sad as mine in the Tyrol could only mean hunger or love forlorn; and that, even during an Anschluss, was unbearable to see.

THEN I suddenly saw why I was a pacifist. Hunger and love and pain and joy, transcend all boundaries, and ideologies, beside these realities, are rather mean. Pacifism should be a simple, though a hard, problem: simple to comprehend in its component parts, hard to decide.

An ambitious young curate once preached a grandiloquent sermon when the bishop visited the parish. After the service the bishop said "Young man, your orders were 'Feed my sheep,' not 'Pasture my giraffes.'"

I think that if some of our pacifist giraffe-pasturers descended to stress the common brotherhood of common men, or, if you like, the unity of the working class, we should make some progress against the ideologies

Richard Symonds

JOHN PATON on

Capital Punishment and the Peace Pledge Union

JUST how irrational and illogical is man was perhaps never fully appreciated by the writer until the other day, when in a discussion with several friends, who are members of the Peace Pledge Union, he was surprised to find that a passionate belief in complete pacifism was compatible, apparently, with an equally strong conviction that capital punishment was a necessity!

But if it be true that experience has demonstrated conclusively the futility of trying to base international peace on a superior ability to kill, then what grounds are there for thinking experience teaches a different lesson with regard

to social peace? No logical supporter of the PPU, it seems to me, can uphold penal policies of violence, and least of all that central violence of our penal code, capital punishment.

IT is now very generally accepted in this country that the basis of our penal practice should be constructive measures aiming at the reformation of the offender.

In the new penal code to which we are moving such expressions of pure violence as capital punishment can have no place. It is a survival of the bad old days of 150 years ago, when it was thought that the effective way to suppress crime was simply to suppress the criminal.

At that time 220 offences punishable by death kept the hangman exceedingly busy.

The result of that savage penal code, as will readily be understood by members of the PPU, was that the volume of crime soared to unprecedented heights.

It is of great significance in the history of our penal law that the volume of crime remained undiminished during the whole period of maximum violence in punishment. The decline in the volume of crime took place after the efforts of reformers like Romilly had resulted in the worst barbarities of the old penal code being abolished.

A SELECT Committee of the House of Commons inquired into capital punishment in 1929, but unfortunately its main recommendation, that this punishment should be suspended for a period of five years so that the effect could be tested in practice, was never adopted.

An impartial examination of the evidence presented to the committee is bound to lead to the conclusion that capital punishment is a barbaric futility, no more effective for its deterrent purpose than other, and more humane, punishments that can be substituted for it.

The evidence from the large number of countries and States throughout the world, which have already abolished or disused the death penalty (now numbering 33), was quite conclusive in its demonstration that no evil result followed from abolition; in not one of them had abolition been followed by any increase in the number of murders.

It is established, therefore, that effective security against increase in homicide can be obtained without the death penalty.

As it is impossible in such a short article to present the case for abolition, the Secretary, National Council for the Abolition of the Death Penalty, Parliament Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W.1, will gladly provide a speaker on the subject to any PPU branch desiring it.

PACIFISM IN THE MIDDLE AGES

by

ALBERT I. SEAGER

Church as well as among leaders of learning.

Among the leaders of this movement were Dr. Colet, the Dean of St. Paul's, and Desiderius Erasmus, philosopher, scholar, and teacher of Greek at Cambridge University.

Hitherto both Colet and Erasmus had pleaded for reform, but when the Franco-British war broke out they showed a spirit of rebellion. Not of bloody rebellion, but the direct opposite. They called men to pacifism.

The worshippers at St. Paul's had often heard Colet's burning eloquence. He had scorned the laxity of the clergy and had praised the long-suffering of the people. Seldom had they seen him so intensely warmed as he stood in the pulpit of the great cathedral and poured invective on war and war-mongers.

Referring to the war then in progress, he described it as a crime. Concerning all wars, he thundered: "When men out of hatred and ambition fight with and destroy one another, they fight under the banner not of Christ but of the devil." Colet did not stop there. He went further and carried his argument to its logical conclusion with the momentous assertion: "An unjust peace is better than the justest of wars."

THE Dean's voice was not raised in a wilderness. From Cambridge came Erasmus, fuming against "the madness around me."

By birth Erasmus was Dutch. He was a profound scholar and thinker. His translation into English of the Greek Testament; his "back to the Scripture"

campaign; his exultation of the arts; his ready wit and magnetic charm had all brought him many friends and had made him an outstanding personality.

Like his friend Colet, Erasmus had been to the fore in the new rationalist movement inside the Church, and he had again and again raised the accusing finger at the corruption of the Church he loved so well.

Probably possessed of a more sensitive nature than any man of his day, the teacher of Greek went beyond his learned collaborator at St. Paul's.

When he first published his English Testament he gave as one of the reasons for his labour the belief that, "whilst it may be the safer course to conceal the State-mysteries of kings, Christ, the supreme King, desires his mysteries to be spread abroad."

In a similarly ironic way he gave his opinion of war and, says Green, "he startled his age; for it was the first time in the history of modern religion that it had formally disassociated itself from the horrors of war."

Said Erasmus:

Kings who are scarcely men are called "divine"; they are "invincible," though they fly from every battlefield; "serene" though they turn the world upside down in a storm of war; "illustrious" though they grovel in ignorance of all that is noble; "Catholic" though they follow anything rather than Christ.

Of all the birds, the eagle alone has seemed to wise men the type of royalty, a bird neither beautiful, nor musical, nor good for food, but murderous, greedy, and hateful to all, with its powers of doing harm only surpassed in its desire to do it.

Following up this uncompromising indictment he declared, "Whilst it is the people who build cities, it is the madness of princes that destroys them."

These words are especially relevant to the twentieth century.

IN the midst of this state of affairs the Church had slumbered. It was too far implicated to raise its voice in condemnation, and too bound up in luxury and materialism to be moved to call men to a nobler aspiration than that of war.

Slowly, almost imperceptibly, however, a change was about to be wrought in the

Humanitarian Pacifism

Dr. A. D. Belden's second article under the heading
"Speaking Personally"

AS we pass from the pseudo-types of pacifism, due to psychological adjustments, toward the more genuine kind, we pass on our way one other type which, whilst it may be called humanitarian, is nevertheless artificial in its pacifism, namely the *revolutionary type*.

The pacifism of revolt can be, of course, both religious and irreligious, noble and ignoble, highly psychological, but also it can be highly realistic. There has been a great increase in this type just recently, owing to the presentation of the kind of crisis involved on the impressive scale of the Spanish civil war.

The famous resolution passed by the Oxford Union, refusing to fight for king and country, is a good instance of this position, and in general it is the one maintained by those groups in the country, especially in the universities, which call themselves "anti-war."

This is a quasi-pacifism directed against imperialistic and capitalistic war. It would be willing to fight a revolutionary civil war, especially one thrust upon it by the other side, and might even conceivably be willing to fight a world war for democracy.

This amounts, of course, to little more than a choice of wars and whilst the attitude may be highly humanitarian, it is scarcely pacifism in any real sense.

OF genuine pacifism, outside the Christian Church, the greater part is motivated simply by humanitarianism. Now let it be plainly understood that with what Mr. Laurence Housman wrote upon this page recently concerning humanism I am in perfect agreement.

The argument against humanism is grossly overdone and the humanitarian motive has vindicated its purity and its power repeatedly in the struggle of mankind for liberty and progress. This, however, is because it merges imperceptibly into the full Christian motive. Enthusiasm for humanity is for the Christian the first corollary of his enthusiasm for God.

The fact remains, however, that the pacifist objective is of such a final character that it tests out the quality of one's humanism more completely than any other requirement, and the prospect of failure here is too urgent and crucial to be lightly treated.

Especially is the humanitarianism, which is quite conscious in its rejection of belief in God, likely ultimately to be found wanting.

Of course, it is always possible for humanity to be splendidly illogical. Men often prove better than their own systems of thought and repeatedly when they have

exhausted the resources of a long-cherished attitude their eyes are opened to a further reach of truth.

Truth, however, will be served in the long run, and we shall be the better for a fresh statement of this problem. The two dangers that beset humanitarianism are as follows:—

1. It fails to account for human unity.

The genuine pacifist looks forward to a united world, a humanity of cooperation and harmony. If, however, he bases his hopes simply upon what humanity is, then they must appear to be rather extravagant.

Consider the appalling differences, racial, cultural, physical, and ideological that at this present moment divide mankind. If we are to be realists we must face these facts. They are not to be dealt with by being ignored or unduly minimized.

people, and it is simply asking for the same trouble in a far more incorrigible form to approach still greater differences with no philosophy and no technique of unity. It was G. K. Chesterton who never tired of telling us that humanity in itself and on its own basis was by no means a united whole, and that only religion of the most comprehensive kind could ever warrant the hope that beneath its difference there was enough commonalty for it to become a unity.

It is quite true that a common self-interest of a highly practical and economic kind may produce partial and temporary unifications of the race, sometimes on a great scale, though oftener in classes and groups.

One outstanding failure of this particular impulse, a failure as glaring as any failure of the Christian Church, is to be found in the lack of solidarity among the workers of the world. In spite of the Marxian slogan, 'Workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your

and social, is embracing all peoples, even the remotest tribes of man.

The advent of the world voice in the radio is the symbol and the climax of all that the locomotive, the ocean-going liner, the telegraph and the telephone, the printing-press and the cinema, have done to bring the ends of the earth together and to give humanity a common life and at last, perhaps, one mind, one heart, one will.

It is, however, this very proximity of all types which creates our greatest problems and makes the supreme crisis for civilization. We are now so close together that either we shall cement into each other with a harmony that is perfect freedom, or we shall explode back into the anarchy of a new barbarism.

Just as a man cannot lift himself by his own waist-band, so humanity cannot lift but must find a leverage beyond its own conditions. It may not seem to matter very much whether this power beyond is thought of in abstract terms (philosophical or scientific) or whether it is thought of vaguely as destiny, fate, or the unknown; but the fact remains that this potential has effective power over us, almost strictly in proportion as we reach up to it through the highest category known to our own minds, namely personality: "Some call it Evolution, but others call it God"—and the others are the more sensible.

2. Humanitarianism is in danger of failing in its human standard. There are two

HUMANE SOLUTION



Drawn by MAURICE GODARD.

... After all, this order to bomb women and children—it's much the best way to avoid leaving widows and orphans ...

Courtesy, "La Patrie Humaine."

The differences are indeed so great that eminent psychologists have bordered upon the belief that certain coloured races are a different kind of humans from the white race, and at the present time we see great peoples in Europe swept away by a race-egotism so extreme as almost to put them into an utterly strange category as compared with the average Englishman or American.

Where can we find the factor which is capable of evening out these sinister differences? To call simply for toleration is like asking Night to consort with Day, which usually yields a twilight that ruins both.

Only in the conception of a divine potential, itself full of initiative and exercising its own attraction, does human unity become a fact.

This potential lies behind every human being whatsoever, and from it may emerge with suitable opportunity a common character of high standard which will steadily blend and reconcile in mutual usefulness the many different types.

We know how acute the problem of unity is, even among greatly similar

chains," those workers still allow themselves to be corralled in warring nationalisms and hurled in masses against one another.

The appeal to a selfish motive will never succeed here. Just as you cannot succeed in getting children to cooperate with each other by knocking their heads together, so no dictatorship, not even that of the proletariat, will ever make the human race the unity it must become if war is to cease.

The recognition of one's fellow-man as a brother must become a constraint upon the individual conscience weighted with an authority greater even than that of humanity itself, and therefore, not to be denied.

THAT there is an evident destiny resting upon mankind to achieve unity is attested by almost every invention of this modern scientific age.

There is a curious finality about modern civilization. The whole planet is now in hand; a vast common culture, industrial

ways of loving humanity: one, indulgent and uncritically with no demand, implicit or explicit, for a standard of quality, and the other with a passion that seeks the human best and lifts humanity to it, that insists, sympathetically and with an un-failing faith, on a certain standard in human being and behaviour.

It is worth noting that a lazy acceptance of human-nature-as-it-is becomes, by the bitter disillusion that it suffers, a most prolific cause of the recoil of so many from idealist policy. From too sentimental a trust in human appearances they rush back to the protection and temporary safety of cruel attitudes. Robespierre began life as a pacifist and finished as the patron of the guillotine!

None can be so cruel as your renegade humanitarian who thinks that because his mercy, based on insufficient faith, outran his patience, therefore mercy is a blunder and a fraud.

Your true humanitarian is able to hold out against the repeated collapses of the humanity he is dealing with because he believes in an illimitable potential behind the human soul; but that is to cease being simply humanitarian, it is to believe in God.

NEXT WEEK: Christian Pacifism

A new series of articles on
**PACIFISM AND
UNEMPLOYMENT**
will begin Next Week

The first writer
will be

JOHN S. HOYLAND

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Editorial, Publishing and Advertisement Offices:

17, Featherstone Buildings, London, W.C.1.

Telephone: Holborn 8627.

Subscription Rates:

Quarterly: 3s. 3d. Yearly: 12s. 6d.

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post-card:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

July 23, 1938

MR. LANSBURY'S MISSION

THE war in Spain is an excellent example of the exploitation for ulterior ends of situations which in themselves need not be too dangerous. It is also the best example of the utter bewilderment of the common people as to what it is all about.

On the one hand there is the general impression that what is going on in Spain is a battle between democracy and fascism, whether on a local or international scale, and whether those terms are "translated" into more or less accurate descriptions of the two sides. On the other hand, even French and British sympathizers with fascism are beginning to believe that Italian and German intervention has in view the interests, not so much of the Italian and German regimes (fascism), as of Italy and Germany as States. That is, that their enemy is not democracy but Britain and France. But, whatever the truth of the matter, it is plain that some such "game" is the real issue and that the problem (if indeed there really was one) which began the Spanish civil war could have been comparatively easily and quickly solved: even if the Spaniards had failed to see any other solution than that of a civil war, it need not have been more than an old Spanish custom.

Similarly, relations between this country and Germany, and even between this country and Italy, need not, in themselves, prove difficult to regulate amicably. Bigger problems of the kind have been settled before now. But the agreement now made with Italy awaits, for its coming into effect, "a settlement in Spain." And even though the British desire for conversations is welcomed in Berlin, it is reported that the German Secretary of State, BARON VON WEIZSACKER, spoke (to SIR NEVILLE HENDERSON, the British Ambassador) of "the difficulty of evolving a firm basis of Anglo-German collaboration while the outlook in Spain remains obscure," and that it is "accepted" in Berlin that "there is little point in beginning negotiations until at least the Czechoslovak question is settled."

Other danger spots likewise show signs of being dangerous only—or largely—in so far as they are being used in the greater, secret war behind the scenes. It is again credibly reported, for example, that the Italian Government is exercising pressure on this country through the Palestine revolt. And assurances that British economic and financial "enterprise" among the Danubian States has no political motive fail to impress Germany, which looks askance at such moves.

These last signs would seem to indicate that, in fact, there is going on the old struggle between rival imperialisms. Nor, indeed, would much, if any, of the British Government's policy in recent months be inconsistent with that fact, though it would seem to consist, for the most part, of a gigantic scheme of bluff. The continued insistence that there must be a withdrawal of troops from Spain before the Anglo-Italian agreement is completed has already aroused suspicions in Italy that the whole policy of conversations, involving the resignation of MR. EDEN and the alienation of some of MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S supporters and most of his tolerators, is designed to gain time for British rearmament to become equal to any force Italy would be able to command. Certainly the Government's arms programme fits in better with this theory than with its claim that its object is peace. Even the alienation of sympathy, provided it is kept within bounds by an occasional hint or sop, would strengthen such a policy, since it encourages an anti-Italian spirit which would

Anti-Semitism Threatens Freedom of Conscience

Jews and Christians can join in defence of that freedom

says

REV. HENRY CARTER

On Sunday prayers were offered in Christian churches and Hebrew synagogues throughout Britain "on behalf of the sufferers from the renewed attack on religion and human freedom."

The writer of this article was one of the signatories of a letter inviting the Free Churches to share in this act of remembrance. This invitation declared:

We have in mind all against whom enmity is directed—Jews, who as Jews are outlawed and treated with brutality; Jewish (i.e. "Non-Aryan"), Christians, equally the victims of this racial hatred; and clergy and laity of the Protestant and Catholic churches in peril and suffering in Germany because of their fidelity to spiritual freedom. All these are our brethren. Their distresses should be our distress; their deliverance the subject of our interest.

A CHRISTIAN who knows, even in outline, the story of the relations of the Christian Church and the Jews must look back with sorrow and penitence on the cruelties which the church-leaders have heaped upon Jewish communities in bygone centuries.

In almost every country which has borne the name "Christian" fierce and bloody persecutions have been directed against Jewish communities, humiliating alike to oppressors and oppressed.

The hateful word "pogrom" comes from Russia, recalling the fury with which Jews were hounded to death, in period after period and place after place, under the Czarist regime. The "ghetto," or Jewish quarter, where in earlier ages the crowded Hebrew population of a city was compelled to live, in separation from other citizens, still survives in some Eastern European countries.

Violence and injustice blot the long record of the dealings of organized Christianity with the Hebrew race. The pitiful fact, which should challenge every Christian mind at this time, is that in Germany, and in countries where German influence is strong, the worst chapters in Jewish history are now being rewritten.

I WRITE as one who deeply desires to promote the friendliest understanding and complete goodwill between Britain and Germany, believing that the future peace of Europe is dependent on healthy relations between the two governments and peoples.

But I see many signs that the intense hostility of the regime against all persons of Jewish blood, the brutalities inflicted on

Jews in Austria, and the harsh penalties imposed on leaders of the Christian Churches in the Reich—the year-long imprisonment of Pastor Niemöller is the outstanding illustration—are frustrating the efforts of those who work for Anglo-German cooperation.

Are leading Germans aware of the disastrous effect on world opinion of the systematic repression of the Jews in Germany during the past five years? The Spectator summed up the situation thus:—

The tragedy of German Jewry does not end with the Jews themselves. The German nation itself has been engulfed by the wave of barbarism which broke over the heads of the unfortunate non-Aryans; 1,500 University scholars, 2,200 doctors, 2,700 artists and architects, chemists, physicists, mathematicians and engineers have been dismissed and most of them have gone into exile.

In them German science, art, and learning have suffered an irreparable loss, which, together with the stifling of all freedom of thought and research, has relegated Germany to a state of semi-civilization. No nation can afford with impunity to deprive itself of thinkers of the calibre of Einstein and Haber, the Nobel prize-winner and inventor of the synthetic ammonia manufacturing process, of authors such as Stefan and Arnold Zweig and Lion Feuchtwanger, of actresses such as Elisabeth Bergner, producers like Max Reinhardt, and musicians such as Fritz Kreisler and Bruno Walter, to mention only a few of the most celebrated names.

I HAVE talked with people who were in Vienna in the days immediately following the German invasion.

Their stories of the savagery with which Viennese Jews were treated by Austrian Nazis are horrible, and confirm the following sentences from the report published in the Yorkshire Post (June 7), sent by its special correspondent in Vienna:—

Whether physically assaulted or not, there was not a Jew in Vienna during the first weeks of the Nazi regime who did not feel himself spiritually assaulted a hundred times a day. He could not pick up a daily newspaper without seeing himself vilified for a column or more in an editorial, a speech or a new anti-Semitic law. His "Aryan" friends "cut" him; his children ran to him with tales of insults at school. . . .

Of the peculiarly Austrian phenomena the most important was the closing down of the Vienna community, the confiscation of its funds and the arrest of its leaders. During the first disastrous two months, when each day added its quota of arrests, suddenly dismissed workers, plunderings, and individual cases of violence,

there were no funds available beyond what was necessary to ward off actual starvation, there were no leaders free to bolster morale, and there was no meeting place in which Jews could foregather to take stock of this misfortune and to plan for the future.

It was this sense of utter frustration, the sense of being cut off, not only from the outside world but from each other, as well as the shock and often disastrous financial consequences of the Anschluss, that drove Austrian Jews to suicide.

★ ★

OUT of this measureless evil, good may yet come. Christian and Jew, estranged for centuries, can find in this bitter hour occasion for reconciliation and opportunity for common service to the true life of mankind. The issue so sharply presented by German policy has the same deep meaning for the sons and daughters of both faiths.

Freedom to profess and practise religion at the bidding of conscience, freedom to share in the culture and activities of social life, freedom to serve the community without becoming the serf of the State—these hard-won fruits of sacrifice and striving are in peril, and only striving and sacrifice can hold them in firm trust for the future.

I plead, then, for the coming together of Christian and Jew to plan common peaceful service to the imperilled civilization of Europe. Three obligations, at least, should be accepted as of equal concern:

First: The maintenance of spiritual and civic liberty, and of the right to testify on behalf of liberty. Let it not be forgotten that anti-Semitism is being thrust into British opinion, and that religious influences alone can withstand it.

Second: The rendering of practical help to those who, through racial hatred or persecution, suffer grievously in their own land or have been driven into exile. Jewish organizations on a world scale are helping their oppressed fellow-religionists but the Christian Churches have yet to realize their responsibility for those "Non-Aryan" Christians whose lot is as bitter.

Third: The huge and continuous task of dealing constructively with the unsolved problem of the place of millions of Jews now in want and peril in countries of Central and Eastern Europe—a problem which raises extremely difficult economic and political issues.

These pressing questions require co-operation between Christian and Jew. They cannot be rightly met by communities which, though directly affected by the issues at stake, live in habitual isolation.

I am able to testify from personal knowledge that, as far as Jewish leadership in Britain is concerned, the door to co-operation is wide open.

It may be, in the providence of God, that the act of spiritual fellowship on Sunday may ripen into a union of heart and will in the quest for truth, peace, and righteousness.

(Reproduced from the "Methodist Recorder.")

Aftermath

HAVE you forgotten yet? . . .

For the world's events have rumbled on since those gagged days,
Like traffic checked awhile at the crossing of city ways:
And the haunted gap in your mind has filled with thoughts that flow
Like clouds in the lit heaven of life and you're a man relieved to go,
Taking your peaceful share of Time, with joy to spare.
But the past is just the same—and War's a bloody game. . . .
Have you forgotten yet? . . .
Look down, and swear by the slain of the War that you'll never forget.

Do you remember the dark months you held the sector at Marmetz—
The nights you watched and wired and dug and filled sandbags on parapets?
Do you remember the rats; and the stench
Of corpses rotting in front of the front-line trench—
And dawn coming, dirty-white, and chill with a hopeless rain?
Do you ever stop and ask, "Is it all going to happen again?"

Do you remember that hour of din before the attack—
And the anger, the blind compassion that seized and shook you then
As you peered at the doomed and haggard faces of your men?
Do you remember the stretcher-cases lurching back
With dying eyes and lolling heads—those ashen-grey
Masks of the lads who once were keen and kind and gay?

Have you forgotten yet? . . .
Look up and swear by the green of the Spring that you'll never forget.

SIEGFRIED SASSOON
(written in 1919)

(Continued from Col. 1)

serve well to unite the nation whenever that policy had to come out into the open.

But whether that is the real "game" or whether the fight is really between opposing "ideologies," there can be no peace worth working for—no lasting peace—in any conversations or concessions, however patient, however conciliatory, however friendly, that merely aim at saving the skins of the negotiators or of those on whose behalf they negotiate. If that is true of those who would have "truck with the dictators," it is also true of those who would not.

The announcement of yet another mission of a very different character from these, to be undertaken by GEORGE LANSBURY—this time to Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Hungary—emphasizes once more the alternative. While statesmen find it difficult even to meet, let alone agree, because of the mere assumption of conflicting interests that each is determined to secure for itself, MR. LANSBURY will no doubt find still further evidence that, in the interests of peace alone, a world conference is not only desirable but absolutely essential.

London Conference Pledges— AID FOR EMPIRE RACES IN STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

By a PEACE NEWS Reporter

AMONG the practical steps resulting from the conference on "Peace and Empire," in Friends House, London, last Friday and Saturday, was a decision—reached by the Youth Commission and endorsed by the whole conference—to send a British youth delegation to India. The Youth Commission also pledged itself to further detailed research and study of colonial problems and the development of wider discussion of them.

The conference also made an appeal to Arabs and Jews in Palestine, "to cease from mutual conflict and unite together to gain independence from imperialism," while a resolution put forward by the Teachers' Commission, and adopted by the conference, urged the withdrawal of such school books and the stopping of such broadcast talks "as contain material likely to be offensive to the colonial peoples."

The main resolution adopted by the conference declared that "the national freedom and independence of all colonial countries and subject peoples are indispensable to world peace, and would lead to a strengthening of the democratic and progressive movement everywhere by winning the active collaboration of hundreds of millions of additional supporters."

There were more than 600 delegates at the conference, from nearly 300 organizations. Of these about thirty represented groups of the Peace Pledge Union, but efforts by some of them to explain the pacifists' inability to support a policy based on collective security were frustrated on more than one occasion.

Need to Teach British People What Empire Means

THE likeness between imperialism and fascism was again stressed by Jawaharlal Nehru, the Indian leader, chairman of the conference, when he spoke at the opening session.

"I feel that you cannot distinguish between the two conceptions," he said.

Mr. Nehru went on to denounce the idea of a "commonwealth of nations" being "born of empire," and declared that the mandatory system was a continuance of the idea of empire.

"We should try," he said, "to build up a world order, and not to limit it to a certain number of nations."

Referring to the support given by the Indian National Congress to the policy of collective security, he said that the removal of imperialism and fascism was an essential preliminary to that policy.

PALESTINE: A WAY OUT

Touching on the problem of Palestine, he pointed out that for about 2,000 years there had been no conflict between the Arabs and Jews.

It was a problem, created by British imperialism, which could only be solved by Arabs and Jews coming to an agreement with each other and ignoring British imperialism.

There was danger, he declared, in leaving problems until too late. The Moors in Spanish Morocco, for instance, had found their problems ignored and were therefore won over by fascists to fight the very people who might have helped them.

Sir Stafford Cripps, another speaker at the first session, called imperialism the "blood-brother of capitalism" and quoted facts to show the exploitation and oppression of native peoples within the British Empire. He urged the need for education and propaganda concerning these realities.

Several interruptions occurred when Sir Stafford suggested "trusteeship during the minority" of some colonial peoples.

PACIFISTS UNREPRESENTED

Earlier there had been some expressions of dissent at the composition of the General Purposes Committee.

A member of the Peace Pledge Union pointed out that his point of view was unrepresented on the committee, others protested against the number of members standing for the extreme left-wing viewpoint, and against the lack of representation of some of the colonial peoples.

Eventually a PPU representative was appointed to the committee, and representation offered to more colonial organizations.

At the Saturday afternoon session Mr. Nehru described as "quite absurd" a report in the *Daily Herald* that there had been "stormy scenes" the previous evening.

During the discussion at this session a speaker from one of the French colonies condemned the repression of colonial peoples which had continued under the Popular Front Government. He denounced also the attitude of the French Communist Party.

A subsequent speaker from the Young Communist League protested—without, however, producing facts to support him—and drew from a coloured delegate the interruption: "You're protesting against the truth."

As the discussion of the various resolutions proceeded it became clear that some of the speakers were more intent on their own political rivalries than on the object of the conference. Eventually, during the discussion on the main resolution, Mr. Nehru declared, "I will not tolerate this any longer."

"I do not propose," he continued, "to allow this conference to be turned into a platform for the ILP, the Communist Party, or anybody else."

OPPOSITION TO COLLECTIVE SECURITY

Any opposition to the resolution was chiefly against the inclusion of the words "collective security." But amendments were not allowed, and more than one speaker pointed out it would be a pity if they had to vote against the whole resolution because of one or two words. Two pacifists even pleaded with the chairman against the words "collective security" after the resolution had been accepted—one was actually shouted down.

Speaking for the resolution Dr. J. D. Bernal, of the National Peace Council, said it was a basis on which they could go out into the country and educate against imperialism.

The speaker on behalf of the African Research Bureau challenged the conference.

He reminded the conference of his fellows in Africa who were living under a fascism greater than that against which they were protesting in Spain and Germany.

Mr. Nehru finally said he thought the real essence of the argument about "collective security" was what was really meant by it. He said he had read the resolution and had found there was nothing in it with which he could disagree. He thought there was nothing which "misinterpreted or attached a false meaning to it."

The following are extracts from the resolution:

In order to enable the colonial and semi-colonial peoples to throw their full weight, as they desire and are prepared to do, on the side of peace and collective security, it is imperative that they should be allowed the unfettered exercise of democratic rights and liberties.

This conference records its conviction that proposals for a redistribution of colonies between imperialist and fascist Powers are profoundly undemocratic and are, moreover, not calculated to avert the danger of war. An immediate advance can be made toward establishing friendly contact with the colonial peoples and drawing in their mass support for an international system of peace and collective security by insisting on the extension to such peoples of basic democratic rights, including adult suffrage, education and freedom of speech, press and organization.

This conference calls upon the Labour, progressive, and peace organizations to cooperate with the peoples of all lands in order to create a powerful and united movement which will halt fascist aggression, clear the way for the advance of the colonial peoples to freedom and democracy, and ensure the peaceful progress of the human race.

Peasants' Non-Violent Struggle Ends Injustice

THE peasants of Mansa, a small district in Gujarat, India, have been carrying on for months a non-violent struggle against excessive assessment and an unjust revenue system.

Their acceptance of prison sentences, beatings, and worse things, has at last borne fruit, for the ruling chief has eventually accepted a settlement such as the peasants were struggling for.

Commenting on this triumph for the non-violent method of struggle, *Harijan*, Mr. Gandhi's weekly, says:

All honour to those who have fought and suffered and won, and set a glorious example to people in other States where conditions are in no way better, but where people have not yet learnt to dare.

It is hoped later to publish a more detailed account of the struggle.

CRISES AREN'T NEWS!

From Our Own Correspondent

Mr. Charles Madge, one of the founders of Mass Observation, told the Hampstead group of the Peace Pledge Union last week that

from investigations made into peoples' reactions in times of crises, it had been found that to the extent to which such situations became more urgent, interest in them diminished.

The tendency today was toward general apathy in matters of public importance and retirement into interests of a solely personal nature.

Mr. Madge said that in these days the "inspired guess" was not sufficient. For propaganda to be successful it was of the utmost value to have made complete and detached observations of the conditions, prejudices, and reactions of men and women in every walk of life.

A member of the audience asked whether Mass Observation could help break down the barrier of prejudices which precluded so many people from sympathizing with the views expressed in PEACE NEWS.

Mr. Madge suggested house-to-house canvassing with PEACE NEWS. The canvasser could take down all remarks made before the paper had been read and, at a later call, the subsequent remarks. In this way facts may be revealed which would help increase the influence of the paper.

(Information concerning Mass Observation may be obtained from Mr. Madge, 6 Grotes Buildings, S.E.3; telephone: Lee Green 4278.)

LINKS WITH TOWNS IN OTHER LANDS

LINKS are being made between British towns and towns abroad under a scheme being developed by the International Peace Campaign.

The towns thus linked are, as far as possible, those which have some point of similarity—in industry, &c. The usual plan is for a public exchange of messages between mayors of the towns concerned, and this is usually arranged as one of the activities of peace weeks held in the British towns concerned.

In some cases, however, the scheme has developed further.

EXCHANGING SONS

Bury, the first town to put the idea into practice, has received from its "opposite number," Hradec Kralove, in Czechoslovakia, an offer to receive a British boy for training in ornamental metal work. The son of the master metal worker who made this offer would, in exchange, come to England for engineering training. Regular exchanges of correspondence are taking place between religious, social and cooperative organizations in the two towns.

In the same way, Eccles is linked with Dvur Kralove, a textile town in Czechoslovakia, Paisley is preparing to link up with a town in Sweden, while Shirebrook also hopes to find a town in Czechoslovakia with which to form a link.

Message of Friendship for Germans

By a PEACE NEWS Reporter

We want you to go back and tell the German people that we want to be friends with them, and that some of us have decided that, whatever our respective governments may decide, we will not fight the German people.

This was the message given to a group of about twenty members of the Hitler Youth, at a meeting of the London Fields Fellowship, Hackney, on Sunday evening.

The Germans, who left England yesterday, have been staying during the week in the homes of members of the Fellowship.

CENTRALEUROPE TRAMPS WITH THE I.T.T. PEACE, NOT PROFIT

Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Jugoslavia, Rumania, Italy.

• 15 and 22 day holiday tours with experienced leaders through Transylvania, Carpathia, Ruthenia, Bohemia, and Beskid Mountains, Slovenia, Croatia. Includes two pioneer tours.

Regions of international strife from time immemorial.

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HON. SECY., INTERNATIONAL TRAMPING TOURS
4, BAINBRIDGE ROAD, LEEDS, 6

on Buttering Parsnips

WITH SOME REFERENCE TO THE

GUNS & BUTTER controversy

WHILE nations pour their millions, human and financial, into the war machine, the ruling savants deliver themselves of the oracle "Guns not butter." (Though the stature of the savants gives the heretical furiously to think.)

We express ourselves in disagreement with this view—who can spread his bread with armour plate, anyway?

Yet what are we doing about it? Is any of our money finding its way into that machine?

Unless our earnings are spent in co-operative enterprises our money is perpetuating the profit system

which leads to rivalries and ultimately war. Under such circumstances the kindest lip service, the sweetest phrase one may utter butters no parsnips. The co-operative consumers' movement offers a brotherhood of service. The Co-operative Wholesale Society, as the movement's manufacturing organisation, guarantees good working conditions to its employees, honest value in its productions, and exists to serve, not make profit out of, its member societies. Join your local Co-op. Society now. Shop at the Co-op. and—for principles' sake—ask for C.W.S. goods at all times.

NEWS from the FOUR CORNERS

EAST

Norwich

ADDRESSING a recent weekend conference, Wilfred Wellock attacked the National Government's policy as involving the condoning of fundamental injustices in the world economic system, and urged that the pacifist programme for internationalizing all colonies and summoning a world conference to right the wrongs of the Treaty of Versailles was the only logical one.

A policy of collective security as envisaged by the Labour and Opposition Liberal Parties could, in Mr. Wellock's opinion, only mean an attempt to defend the existing injustices of the imperialist system by the war method, which would lead to the destruction of civilization.

HOME COUNTIES

Brentford

A NOVEL debate between the League of Nations Union Youth Group and the local group of the PPU took the form of a supposed conference of internationally famous men.

They met to discuss the following resolution:

This meeting, realizing the danger of a German invasion of Czechoslovakia, believes that only by a policy of economic and military support for Czechoslovakia by all countries in and friendly to the League of Nations can the danger of war be averted, recognizes that at any time the invasion may take place, and pledges itself to carry out a policy of resistance in the event of such an invasion.

Dr. Soper, M. Daladier, George Lansbury, Viscount Cecil, Lord Ponsonby, and M.

Under the Oak Tree

By THEO WILLS
(on behalf of the Basque Fund)

While the children are intensely preoccupied with next week's holiday, and washing clothes to take away and the house to leave behind, and while scores of people, after a year of regular and, so to speak, "blind" support, are keying themselves up to seeing and welcoming their young protégés, others are making great efforts to prejudice the security of the Basque children in England.

The aim of the "Basque Children's Repatriation Committee" is ostensibly to effect the summary return of all the Basque children in Britain. The personnel of the committee is rich in titles, but in face of its unflagging, pertinacious campaign for wholesale repatriation (an immature and ill-advised proposal), one may doubt whether it is entitled to be accounted in generosity of spirit.

Such a sweeping condemnation requires more substantiation than can be set forth here, but the legal guardians of the children—the Basque Children's Committee—who have borne, unaided by the Government the burden of rescuing 4,000 children, of maintaining them here, and of repatriating slightly more than half the original contingent, will give bitter evidence of the persistent nullification that has pursued their money-raising enterprises and appeals in the press and elsewhere.

The fact that the members of the "Repatriation Committee" are "Friends of Nationalist Spain" and loath to see a Red Spain, would be of no importance were it not painfully perceptible that the children are being used as pieces in a propagandist duel with the English anti-Fascist section.

Plain sense and wholesome sentiment repel the duplicity of pursuing such legitimate political ends in the lion's skin of humanitarian devotion. How can it be humanitarian, or indeed in keeping with our traditional sanctuary for refugees, to send children to insurgent territory when their parents were dead, separated in prison, or themselves refugees in Eastern Spain or elsewhere in Europe; when some parents were untraceable, and many unable to support or reclaim their children. And wherein lies the charity of sending them to bomb-stricken, overcrowded, contracting regions of Catalonia?

These questions sufficiently reveal the political-partisan weakness of their appeals. Our 65 children are free of this very live menace to the safety of the Basque children because they have a staunch corps of devoted henchmen (we are still two short) at their backs, but their compatriots are for the most part dependent on local support; and being heterogeneous are more open to the subtleties of sending back "these little Basque devils," who, as David Low has made one of his characters say, "enjoy being hunted, y'know."

A patient correction of error will do much to set this pathetic caravan on the road again.

Litvinoff were all enacted by members of the two organizations.

The resolution was passed by a very narrow majority.

Croydon

Last Saturday an outstandingly successful meeting was held outside the Town Hall. Preceded by a poster parade, it was only the second attempt at an open-air meeting by this group. A fortnight previously they held a successful meeting addressed by John Barclay and others.

On Saturday Joyce Parkinson, the organizer of the meetings, who had never herself spoken before, jumped up to answer hecklers and made some telling points. Some of the interruptions were difficult to deal with, but the group feels encouraged and intends to hold these meetings once a fortnight.

Henley

A meeting of this group was addressed by Donald Green, secretary of the Reading group, who spoke on the National Peace Congress, which he had attended.

The Henley group intends to hold a campaign after the summer holidays to make the meaning and aims of the PPU more generally known.

Richmond

A combined meeting of the FoR and PPU groups was addressed by the Rev. R. G. Cornish. He confronted pacifists with this question: Is good will sufficiently ruthless to attack economic evil or sufficiently dynamic a motive to run industry as at present constituted?

When the principles of non-violence were applied, he said, it could only be done by using parliamentary legislation, which relied on the very means of force which they condemned.

Tonbridge

Helped by members from Hastings, Tunbridge Wells, and other parts of Kent and Sussex, the Tonbridge group staged its first public demonstration last Saturday.

A long poster parade marched through the main streets and ended at the Angel Corner where a big open-air meeting was held. Miss Sybil Morrison, the Rev. Cameron Price, and John Barclay addressed the meeting, at the end of which a number of new members were enrolled.

The sale of PEACE NEWS, stimulated by the arrival of the local fascists with Action, reached several dozens.

Tunbridge Wells

According to their monthly Newsletter this group, at the invitation of Bryan Harner, is holding a garden party at 20

Yew Tree Road, Southborough, today at 4 p.m. Tea will be served and there will be informal addresses by three distinguished visitors. Mrs. Max Plowman will lead the discussions.

The group is expecting a representative of the India League to speak on Mr. Gandhi and non-violence in India and a speaker to deal with the international situation.

LONDON

Ealing

A MEMBER of the group Mrs. Broomfield, recently lent her garden for a party: there was a good attendance. John Barclay spoke on the present and future activities of the PPU. Sideshows, competitions, &c., added further to the enjoyment of the function.

SOUTH

Banbury

PSYCHOLOGY and crime were discussed by Leonard Pilsworth when he addressed a meeting in the Friends' Meeting House. He painted a dreadful picture of what another war might mean.

"In future," he said, "no doubt it will be possible to use bacteria to spread plague and pestilence. It will be possible to poison water supplies and destroy crops. It seems, therefore, that the world State is not merely an idealist dream, but the only hope of human survival."

Mr. Pilsworth said that one of the greatest needs today was for a better distribution of wealth. In his view the best form of society was a complete equality for everybody. This should be achieved by the nationalization of industry, which should be done by compensation rather than confiscation.

SOUTH-WEST

Trowbridge

A MEETING here last week was addressed by the Rev. Keith Preston, the Rev. Howard Bryant (two local Free Church ministers), and C. H. Cole, of New Zealand.

Mr. Bryant warned his audience that war of the future would not only affect the lives of professional soldiers but would touch the life of every person, and would aim at the destruction of every man, woman, and child in the nation.

Mr. Cole spoke on the objects of the PPU. We have no right to condemn what is going on in other countries, he said, until we condemned what had gone on in this and other countries under our control and repented of our actions.

DEVON WELCOME FOR MR. LANSBURY

Big Meetings Hear Alternative to War

A BATCH of newspaper cuttings of lengths varying up to nearly two columns testifies to the great interest aroused by the visit of Mr. George Lansbury to Devonshire.

Packed audiences in the Guildhall, Plymouth, Barnfield Hall, Exeter, and the Town Hall, Torquay, listened to him champion international cooperation as the only alternative to the final collapse of civilization.

At the Exeter meeting Mr. Lansbury showed how illogical the world had become. France, Germany, and Great Britain, he said, had been showing each others' representatives what they were doing in regard to air raid precautions.

"If we are so crazy about each other and none of us wishes to hurt the other," said Mr. Lansbury, "why not let us take it a step further and have a sort of sham fight over the North Sea, with umpires or referees, and let us fight it out on points."

"It would be very much more sensible."

"MAD SCRAMBLE" COULD BE HALTED
Nations today were living in a new economic age, he continued, and were realizing that they could not live alone. A time had come when, instead of fighting Germany or Italy on the question of expansion, markets, or the use of raw materials, the nations should sit at a round table and appoint international commis-

sions to try to solve their problems and to bring about harmony and cooperation.

"I have seen the whole of the leading statesmen in the world, and there is not one but said, 'Yes, that is what ought to be done, but what will the other people do?'" continued Mr. Lansbury.

"If there was one great man in the world he would call a halt to this mad scramble to war, and would say to the other statesmen of the world, 'Let us reason together and see if we can use the greatest period in the history of the world, that science and invention have given us, not as a period in which to destroy it but to preserve and build up a real human society.'"

At the Plymouth meeting Mr. Lansbury again urged the need for a British initiative, declaring, "Let us say we will lay in the dust the glory of imperialism, because by so doing we—the greatest nation in the world—will show our willingness to join in a great League of Nations to save the world and build a new world in which all nations shall join and, by cooperation, share God's great gifts to mankind."

PACIFISM AMONG THEOLOGICAL STUDENTS

At Torquay he pointed out that it was no use talking about humanizing war; they might as well try to humanize a bo-constrictor. Other speakers at the meetings included Captain Philip Mumford, Mr. W. B. Curry, and the Rev. W. J. F. Huxtable.

A strong defence of the Christian pacifist position made by Mr. Huxtable created a deep impression. He declared that when he was a student in training (he is now, at 25, minister of Newton Abbot Congregational Church), 75 percent of his fellow students were pacifists. That showed, he said, that the Church was doing a bit more than many people thought.

EDUCATION FOR NEW WORLD

From Our Own Correspondent

EDGAR CASTLE, Headmaster of Leighton Park School, addressed the London Teachers' Group of the PPU on "Education and Peace" last week.

He discussed, not the technical side of the teachers' work, but the attitude to be taken toward main principles.

The teacher must put education in advance of social practice, he said, and must educate for the world as it ought to be, not as it is or as it was in a previous century. The world commonwealth must be our end and our system must be relevant to it.

The teacher must be well informed and study the obstacles to peace.

The organization of the school and the home and the teacher's attitude toward the child were the most important factors in the cultivation of the right attitude in the child. Teachers had to create the atmosphere in which desirable emotions were common and the undesirable emotions were rare.

MUST TEACH CLEAR THINKING

They must create character and not exact obedience, encourage freedom of speech, and eliminate taboos and those elements which lead to competition and self-interest. They must teach clear thinking so that the child would see tattoos and all they stood for to be illogical and be led inevitably to pacifism.

In every subject they could emphasize the need for international co-operation. The ultimate result depended upon those with whom the children lived.

Talking of books, Mr. Castle suggested, for those over sixteen years old, *The Proper Study of Mankind* (B. A. Howard), *An Atlas of Current Affairs* (Horradin), and *Straight and Crooked Thinking* (Thouless).

Those interested in the PPU Teachers' Group are referred to PEACE NEWS of July 2 for detailed information. Any who wish to become attached to the group should write to A. Bernard Hadley, 40 Oak Hill Gardens, Woodford Green, Essex, enclosing a stamped addressed envelope for reply.

PUBLICITY VAN IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE

From Our Own Correspondent

For nearly a week the PPU publicity van toured the district around Cheltenham.

Arriving on a Saturday it started out almost immediately for Painswick, an old-world Cotswold village, where it stayed for half an hour close by the church—much to the astonishment of the inhabitants.

The next village to be visited was Sheepscotcombe—in one of the most charming valleys near by—where Mr. Rogers (who has a guest house) and his visitors were waiting for the van. The vicar, wearing a PPU badge, spoke at the meeting, as well as Mr. Nigel Spottiswoode.

The van went next to Whiteway Colony, where a small but active group had prepared a sumptuous and much-needed lunch. Then, as most of the people there were members, it moved on to Stroud. Here, though there was not a large crowd, many in the houses nearby must have heard the loudspeaker.

The evening meeting in Gloucester was at Barton Gates, about the noisiest and busiest spot on a Saturday night, and was a great success. The crowd listened with interest for nearly two hours. A good deal of literature was given away, as well as some pledge cards.

On the Sunday evening, in Cheltenham, quite a good number turned up at the Friends' Meeting House. Later a good meeting was held in College Road. On Monday the van went to Swindon, where a very good midday meeting was held.

On Tuesday Tewksbury and Northleach were visited, and on Wednesday evening nearly the whole of Winchcombe turned out for a meeting organized in the Square by Mrs. Cardew. After the meeting the film *Kameradschaft* was shown in the Institute.

On Thursday the weather cleared up just in time for the final meeting in the Promenade, Cheltenham, where a large crowd listened to Mr. Spottiswoode for nearly an hour. Many people stayed for discussion afterward.

UP THE GARDEN PATH

By
BESOM

ONCE again a "straight news" quotation is much more farcical—though tragically so—than anything I can make up. Read this, from last Friday's *Times*:

In the outstanding speech of his continental tour President Roosevelt today made a stirring appeal for disarmament among the nations when he spoke at Treasure Island, in San Francisco Bay, just before setting out to review the Fleet.

"IF ONLY..." DEPT.

A festive little get-together is to be held in Stockholm soon, when Hitler, Goering, and Stalin meet for a quiet dinner. The international situation will doubtless be discussed, but the meeting won't have the earth-shaking significance that, at first glance, it might seem to have.

Hitler will be host; not Adolf Hitler, but a Stockholm sign-painter named Allan Hitler. He has been embarrassed many times by his name, as have his prospective guests: Harold Goering, merchant, and Tom Stalin, truck driver.

—St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

ARP IS FUNNY—Official

From a local paper:

COMPETENT SHORTHAND-TYPIST required for... ARP Office; salary £2 per week. —Write, stating age, experience, &c., to *Entertainments Manager*, Council Offices. . . . I always thought ARP was funny, but I didn't know they thought so, too!

PRICE OF GLORY

A widow living at Brooklyn, USA, on a pension of \$30 (about £6) a month, recently received two letters from the American Government.

One told her that a warship would be named after her husband, Lieut. Mons Monsson; the other was a notification that her home would be auctioned because of a mortgage made by the Home Owners' Loan Corporation.

SWEATED LABOUR

The "Daily Worker" told us that Junker General Seeckt in 1922 paid Trotsky, then Red Commissar for War, 250,000 marks a year for acting as a German spy.

As the mark stood at 47,000,000 to the pound in that year, poor old Trotsky got less than three-ha'pence for his trouble.—"Daily Express."

ALL PART OF THE SERVICE

The current issue of ARP News carries an announcement of a personal accident insurance scheme for registered readers.

The editor of the paper writes:

As the question of insurance has proved vexatious to authorities and volunteers alike, this service by ARP News should be welcome. It's not just professional jealousy, I hope, that makes me think this passion for safety (and/or insurance) was hardly the spirit that made Britain what it is, &c. . . .

FINE FEATHERS

In the same paper I see a heading:

WHAT THE BEST-DRESSED MAN WILL WEAR.

The sub-heading is:

PROTECTIVE CLOTHING FOR THE MAN IN THE STREET.

And, of course, there's a fashion-plate to make you feel envious of the "best-dressed man."

MORE ATROCITIES

After a two days' trial the court condemned Erich and Lucia Bräuer, for robbery and murder to death and total loss of civilian rights.

—*Völkischer Beobachter* (Germany).

We, of course, wouldn't be so barbarous as to sentence a murderer to more than death.

FAIR BARGAIN

Mr. Chamberlain's aggressive diplomacy has forced Franco to make an important concession. The rebel chief agrees not to sink any more British ships if they will stay away from there.

—Howard Brubaker, in the *New Yorker*.

WITHOUT COMMENT

The air purifier on Westminster City Council's "model" gas-proof air-raid shelter is labelled "Made in Germany."

HOW THEY SEE IT

When's a bomb that kills a civilian not a bomb that kills a civilian? Answer (British): When a "policeman" drops it. —*New York Daily Mirror*.

SENT BY A READER



TWENTY YEARS AFTER

This picture of war material rusting away, near Ypres, Belgium, was taken by a Brixton reader, W. G. Uden, this year.

Letter from the Editor

17 Featherstone Buildings,
London, W.C.1.

ABOUT sixty percent of the members of the Preliminary Universitas Conference held in Sweden recently (whose statements we publish on page 3 of this issue) were also members of the Peace Pledge Union.

"Several," writes MARTIN S. ALLWOOD, a student in the Cambridge University Psychological Department, "were regular readers of PEACE NEWS, which was considered one of the most decent and serviceable forums of new thought and European fellowship."

Following his visit to Sweden, MR. ALLWOOD has planned to make a journey to India and Japan. In India he intends to work with DR. RABINDRANATH TAGORE, the famous poet, at his ashram.

music, there were also athletes from Latvia, France, Bulgaria, all the Slav countries, and America. Why you English were not represented I do not know.

Within the Czech organization they call each other "brother" and the girls "sister." During the exercises they salute while the leader, through the loudspeaker, pledges allegiance to their country.

When they bent over—both the men and the women—it was like the waves of the sea, sun and shadow. The young women were very graceful—it was a pleasure to watch them. They were smarter than the men, it only took them five minutes to leave the field.

How much better this voluntary discipline—with its rhythmic exercises and its ideal of allegiance to country, to all Slav people, in fact to all people who are dedicated to peace and freedom throughout the world—than the unthinking discipline imposed from without, which has little if any moral force behind it.

Is there any moral force behind the Hitler Youth or the Blackshirts of Italy? Perhaps the youth imagine they are doing something noble.

Home for Spanish Children

THIRTY homeless Spanish boys and girls are being cared for at the War Resisters' International home at Prats-de-Mollo, in the South of France.

But they urgently need clothing. They are from 5 to 14 years of age and the majority of them boys.

All who can send any clothing or shoes, especially for the boys, should address them to Messrs. Davies, Turner and Co., Ltd., Packing Department, Taylor's Buildings, Ranelagh Road, Pimlico, S.W.1.

Democratic Festival

MISS GEORGINE CLAYBERG, whose dispatch from Czechoslovakia we published last week, will probably not be able to send the further message we had hoped for from Yugoslavia, as her trip there is off for the time being.

Writing on the recent great festival in Czechoslovakia, she says:

The Slet was a wonderful spectacle. Besides 28,000 to 30,000 Czechs moving rhythmically to

True Story

Clause 246

by FRANK ILLINGWORTH

AROUND a table kings were being made and emperors dethroned. New nations were being created overnight, frontiers were being warped, stretched, reduced, increased in length, and centuries-old nations were being given new names. Armament talks were being mixed up with those on disarmament.

Into this atmosphere of hatred and distrust there came a simple plea from the Whehe Tribe of Tanganyika: "Please may we have our king's skull?"

It seems that some forty years ago, land-greedy Germany had grabbed the Tanganyika country, and the warlike Whehes, landholders since the beginning of time, were teaching the invaders a stern lesson in guerilla warfare before they were finally broken by the iron heel.

They left on the battle field the body of their king—Mkwawa. Some looting soldier with a grim taste in curios, beheaded his late native majesty and sent the memento home to the Fatherland.

Ever since that day the Whehe periodically renewed their plea: "Please may we have our king's skull?" And every time the German authorities ignored the plea. What was a nigger's head to them... even a nigger king's head?

*

The Great War over, when Germany was a beaten nation, the old cry was renewed, and Lloyd George was faced with the problem of retaining the skull. Clause 246 found its way into the Versailles

Treaty, stipulating that Germany should return the pilfered skull within six months.

The Whehe were delighted, and the world's statesmen returned to the question of races, boundaries, war debts... in the greatest drive for everlasting peace that the world has ever seen. In the meantime Germany looked for the skull.

But the six months passed and King Mkwawa was still buried without his head. Again that plaintive call came from Africa. Germany couldn't find the skull. Clause 246 was one of the articles of the Versailles Treaty that she did conscientiously try to carry out. But the skull was lost.

Museums were searched, files and records looked at. First one skull was produced and examined, then another was brought forward to contest the first one's right to a claim to royalty. But none of these skulls could prove their identity, and once more they found their way back to a museum.

*

Then three skulls were produced, and though the experts were certain that one belonged to the dead king, again there was no proof; so they sent them to Whitehall with a polite note saying:

Herewith please find three skulls, one of which is the property of the late King Mkwawa of Tanganyika. Take your choice and to blaze with you—or words to that effect.

The hunt for the king's skull had come down to the level of a lottery. But the

British Government, always against lotteries, returned the three skulls to Germany with the request that two be proclaimed pretenders, and the third returned to London.

Berlin was in a quandary. Here were three fine skulls, any one of which looked good enough to belong to a king. And still the Whehe asked: "When do we get our skull?"

Months dragged into years and still the hunt progressed. Correspondence continued between Berlin and London on the matter of the missing skull, and now, twenty years afterward, experts are no nearer the solution. Several fine skulls repose under glass cases with a notice saying that one is the headpiece of an African king, with the right to a free passage back to Africa. The others are frauds, have not even the right to sit on the same bench as his Majesty.

*

European statesmen are still bickering. Armament talks are still being confused with disarmament talks, and countries with only ten million trained soldiers are talking about security against countries with only five million men. The Versailles Treaty has been hacked to bits, and one is ashamed to say that the least important clause of all those in the treaty (at least from a European point of view) has not been fulfilled. For the Whehe still ask for their king's skull.

The funny part is that Germany wants Tanganyika back again!

Twenty-one Years Ago

From the *New Crusader*,
July 27, 1917

IT appears that in submitting a "loyal" address to the King the Wesleyan Conference failed to help His Majesty by offering him any higher vision than that of peace until "those who willed the war, and whose methods of conducting it dishonour humanity, have been utterly and finally vanquished."

Rev. F. H. Benson (Birmingham), in moving an amendment to leave out the words as above, declared, amidst loud cries of "No," that 100 Wesleyan ministers at present took a Quaker position with regard to war.

Proceeding amid cries of dissent, he declared that there were scores of Wesleyans in prison, and he knew from his correspondence that many of the brave lads who went to the front thinking that they were taking the right course were filled with moral nausea as they thought of the task to which they were called. Many a lad after he had been in the trenches wrote home to say that it was a hell. (Cries of dissent.)

The President: I think Mr. Benson will see that the conference is not disposed at this moment to enter into discussion about this war. We are discussing a loyal address to the King. Mr. Benson said that he commended the address in so far as it distinguished between the German people and their leaders. He was proceeding to discuss the war and cognate questions again when the president repeatedly called him to order.

Loud cries of "Certainly not" greeted Mr. Benson's assertion that the American President's motto was "Peace without Victory."

Eventually the amendment was lost by an overwhelming majority, and the resolution carried with enthusiasm, the whole company rising and singing the National Anthem.

marking the parcels "PPU—for Spain" or "WRI—for Spain." Every parcel should have inside it the name and address of the sender.

But—please don't send hats or shoes and boots too old to be repaired.

Wouldn't Believe It

HERE is another amusing incident experienced by L. O. BROWN (who suggested, you may remember, that speakers should be able to supply quite a fund of anecdotes collected during their travels for the Peace Pledge Union).

At Moreton Hampstead the platform had to deal with a persistent heckler, who, no matter what the answer was, made the comment "I don't believe it."

"Would our friend really believe anything?" asked the speaker. "Perhaps he might believe the *Daily Mail*!"

"Yes," responded the heckler. "Now that is a paper you CAN believe."

The speaker followed with "Our friend says the *Daily Mail* ALWAYS tells the truth. Well here is a cutting from the *Daily Mail*, which, of course, he will believe." And he quoted from a leading article headed "Make Friends all Round"; commenting on the Spanish situation:

Britain must not take sides for or against contending armed Powers, and she must refuse to be led into using force against any party. Then the heckler wanted to see the cutting!

Group Notes

BY JOHN BARCLAY

Manifesto Campaign:

Three More Big Days

WHEN these notes appear in print, the first four days of the campaign will be over, but a full report will not be available till next week. There still remain, however, three important days—today (Saturday), tomorrow, and Monday:

Saturday, July 23: Relay Poster Parade. The first part of the route follows the No. 16 tram route as far as Westminster, and the No. 133 bus route as far as Oval Station.

Details of the route follow:—

Depart Swan and Sugar Loaf ..	2.30 p.m. sharp
Arrive West Croydon Station ..	2.55
" Thornton Road ..	3.22
" Norbury Station ..	4.0
" Streatham Station ..	4.25
" Streatham Hill Station ..	4.50
" Brixton Station ..	5.40
" Oval Station ..	6.10
" North Lambeth Station ..	6.40
" Westminster Station ..	6.53
" 96 Regent Street ..	7.15
Refreshments will be available.	

Depart 96 Regent Street .. 8.0
Arrive Tottenham Court Road Station .. 8.25
(The route now follows the No. 24 bus route to Camden Town.)

Arrive Warren Street Station ..	8.40
" Mornington Crescent Stn. ..	8.58
" Camden Town Station ..	9.7
" Chalk Farm Station ..	9.13
" Belsize Park Station ..	9.40
" Hampstead Station Und. ..	10.0

Sunday, July 24: Manifesto Coach arrives at Tower Garage (Finchley Road end of Watford By-Pass) at 1.45 p.m. Cars and cycles (decorated if possible) should line up on the by-pass road at this point at 1.15. Please report to Marshals who will be on duty here from 1 p.m.

Marchers: The rallying-point of this section of the procession is at St. John's Wood Station outside Lord's Cricket Ground at 1.15 p.m. Another contingent will form up at Baker Street Station (outside the gates of Regent's Park) at 1 p.m. and move down toward Lord's to join on to the main procession as it comes along.

Hyde Park: The meeting will begin at 3 p.m. near the Marble Arch entrance. Two platforms have been arranged and speakers will address the crowd until about 4.45.

Monday, July 26, 4 to 7 p.m.: Representatives of groups to interview their MPs on the Manifesto. If you are selling PEACE NEWS, please re-

member that no papers can be sold inside the Park, nor may leaflets be distributed there.

Langham Conference

There is still plenty of room in the camping ground at Langham for people who bring full equipment. For details apply to me. One or two beds are available between Tuesday, August 2, and Friday, August 5, at a cost of 12s.

LECTURES

Saturday (next),—Kingsley Martin. "Freedom of the Press."
Sunday,—Canon Stuart Morris. "Christianity and Pacifism."
Monday,—James Mylles. "Cooperative approach to Pacifism."
Tuesday,—Sir Norman Angell.
Wednesday,—E. F. M. Durkin. "War and Democracy."
Thursday (August 4),—Middleton Murry.

Essential Points in the P.P.U. MANIFESTO

THE Peace Pledge Union, founded by Dick Sheppard on the basis of the pledge: "We renounce war and will never support or sanction another," makes this appeal to all who seek peace within and between the nations:

The pledge to renounce war, involving as it does the refusal to allow governments to make use of the weapons of violence in support of foreign policy, leads inevitably to the necessity for a new foreign policy, based on economic appeasement and reconciliation. The most pressing need is to take immediate steps which will lead ultimately to the establishment of a really serviceable League of Nations.

The new League must be based on provisions designed to meet the economic requirements of the large masses of poverty-stricken people to be found in varying degree among all nations of the earth. The satisfaction and security of each and every nation must be, and can be, obtained in the well-being of all.

Now is the time when every democrat should concentrate upon and call his govern-

ment to confront the real and pressing economic needs of the people of the world.

The maintenance of imperial interest and economic advantage for ourselves literally means that we are living at the expense of the people of other countries. It also necessitates domination, which makes peace impossible.

The Van Zeeland Report has been drawn up by a statesman appointed by the governments of Britain and France to consider the economic and political causes of friction in the world. M. Van Zeeland's conclusions should be investigated at once. They may be modified. He provided for that.

When the causes are faced, a solution, which could both meet the needs of hungry nations, raise the standard of life and secure the rights of native peoples, will be found possible in other terms than those of war.

We urge that a new peace treaty should be drawn up, this time before another war begins, instead of after it, when hideous consequences must lead to increased hatred, increased revenge and renewed conflict—if, indeed, civilization survives

Meetings

Groups are invited to send names and addresses of people (pacifists or others) within easy reach of the City, who might be persuaded to attend a meeting addressed by Lord Ponsonby, George Lansbury, and Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence on October 25, to City PPU Group, 13 Paternoster Row, E.C.4.

Kettering group now meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. in the Toller Lecture Room, Meeting Lane, Kettering.

T. Kaye Earnshaw, 29 Whittaker Avenue, Layton, Blackpool, would be pleased to hear from pacifists (speakers particularly) visiting Blackpool, who would like to assist at open-air meetings on the sands.

Romford group now holds open-air meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. in the Romford Market Place.

West Norwood group will not meet in St. Luke's Church Hall, which is undergoing redecoration, until September 13 when Mr. Sydney Larcombe will speak on the WRI.

Open-air meetings every Friday at 8.15 p.m. in Kings Square, Barry. Also in Llandaff Fields, Cardiff at 8 p.m. on Sundays.

Open-air meetings are now held on Tooting Bec Common every Sunday at 7 p.m., as well as on Clapham Common (3 p.m.) and Streatham Common (6.30 p.m.). Arranged between Streatham, Battersea and Wandsworth groups.

PEACE NEWS Sellers Wanted

City, W.1, W.C.1 and N.W.1 groups are combining to draw up rota for theatre and opera-house queues. **Volunteers for any day of week.** Apply City PPU Headquarters, 13 Paternoster Row, E.C.4.

Letchworth.—Volunteers for street selling wanted on Saturdays between 3 and 5 p.m. and 5 and 7 p.m. Also on Sundays outside churches. Please give details and times to J. Yardley 49 William Way, Letchworth.

Bristol.—Every Saturday between 2.30 p.m. and 5 p.m. Write John Bamford, 24 Bromley Road, Horfield, Bristol, 7.

Blackheath.—Outside Roxy Cinema from 5 p.m. on Saturdays.

Harborne.—Every Friday and Saturday. Write S. G. White, 46, Wheats Avenue, Harborne, Birmingham.

Cambridge.—Write to Austin Davies, 28 Malcolm Street, Cambridge.

Tunbridge Wells.—Write to Maurice Cransby, 4 Mount Ephraim, Tunbridge Wells.

Nottingham.—Fridays and Mondays. Meet Friar Lane, 7 p.m. Do not leave it to a few.

Hull.—Open-air meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., at West Park Gates

Poster Parades

More volunteers needed every Saturday at 4.45 p.m. from 96 Regent Street, and on the second and fourth Thursdays of every month at 7.15 p.m.

Miscellaneous

Four Basque boys between the ages of eleven and thirteen have not yet been invited to spend one week's holiday from July 29 to August 5 in a private house. Any offers should be sent to 96 Regent Street, W.1.

Those visiting Ayrshire district please inform Miss Jean Brock, 54, Barassie Street, Troon (tel. 634), or Mrs. Sybil White, 71 London Road, Kilmarnock.

Miss Kathleen Hoskin, 2 Quintrel Road, Newquay, Cornwall, would be glad to hear from pacifists intending to visit Newquay and district during the summer months, more especially those willing to take part in meetings and demonstrations.

There is now a service for the supply of literature at 13 Paternoster Row, E.C.4. Orders received by noon on any day can be ready for collection at the above address after noon on the day following. The object is to save postage for people who cannot collect their supplies from Regent Street, but can do so from here.

Sheringham group hopes to start a Book Shop and Social Service Centre in the near future. Would anyone with a tiny income, willing to live on communal lines, like to join in this venture? Write to Miss Florence Kearney, Lavenham, North Street, Sheringham.

PEACE PLEDGE UNION, 96 Regent St., London, W.1

Phone: REGENT 2843

"Things we want you to know"

JULY 23rd, 1938

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3 Don't be misled by the word "DEFENCE" - - - -	6
4 The Bomber will always get through —Are Bombers defensive weapons?	2
5 You can't get Peace by preparing for WAR - - - -	17
6 Pacifism, the practical alternative to WAR - - - -	8
7 Join the Peace Pledge Union - - - -	19

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	No.
1 Armaments are preventing the outbreak of Peace - - - -	23
2 Armaments get nobody anywhere and everybody nowhere - - - -	23
3 You can't preserve Peace by preparing for War - - - -	17
4 War must be renounced as well as denounced - - - -	29
5 1,000,000 and now their sons. We say NO - - - -	21
6 Mightier than the Sword - - - -	33
7 Dick Sheppard's work goes on - - - -	26
8 Pacifism, an Ideal and a Method - - - -	15
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Dear Sir . . .

PACIFISM AND POLITICS

CAPTAIN Mumford's letter of July 16 leaves me, I am afraid, more puzzled than before.

In his main thesis, reasonable persuasion rather than unbalanced attack, one can only concur. But his preamble—

I agree . . . that we should formulate alternative policies to those of the Government. We cannot, obviously, be prepared with cut-and-dried policies—the future may grow into quite unexpected patterns—but we can and must face up, in public as well as in private, to the practical problems that will inevitably attend the application of pacifist principles to international and national politics.

raises a number of important issues on which his attitude is—at any rate, to me—not at all clear.

What, for instance, is the distinction which he makes between "cut-and-dried" and "alternative" policies? Does he use "cut-and-dried" merely as a synonym for static? Or would he limit the scope of policies? If the pacifist movement is to formulate alternative policies, how is this to be achieved? And by whom?

In my previous letter, I spoke of "an alternative policy." Captain Mumford changes this to the plural. Is this merely a slip of the pen, or does he believe that the movement should advocate a number of alternative policies simultaneously?

Perhaps, however, in view of the expressed desire of Messrs. Whittingham and Kirk to exclude from the movement all those pacifists who cannot share their own rather dogmatic Christian authority for the pacifist view, these questions are merely academical and irrelevant.

There is little that the non-Christian pacifist can say to these gentlemen; he can only hope that they are not representative of the Christian pacifist section of the movement as a whole.

I must protest, however, against Mr. Kirk's attempt to justify his attitude by quoting Canon Sheppard. The PPU was founded on the pledge, for which General Crozier, who based his pacifism not on Christian dogma but on a first-hand knowledge of the horrors and futility of war, was equally responsible with Canon Sheppard. And Canon Sheppard himself was concerned to bring together in the one movement all pacifists, irrespective of creed or lack of creed, to co-operate together in the struggle against war.

If Messrs. Whittingham and Kirk refuse to co-operate, they are betraying the spirit in which Canon Sheppard started the movement.

Sheppard was never a Pharisee.

PHILIP F. DYER.

York House, Theobald's Road, W.C.1.

There is surely no reason why Mr. Dyer should find anything "amazing" in Captain Mumford's reference to the absurdity of asking a militarist government to adopt a pacifist policy. People who believe that their very existence depends on their control of organized violence will obviously reject the counsels of those who believe that organized violence is criminal and its abolition the crying need of civilization.

Mr. Dyer is naturally anxious that the pacifist movement should become effective by obtaining political power. But it can only do so by converting a majority of militarists into pacifists, and it will not

accomplish this by advocating (as Mr. Dyer proposes) a policy which militarists reject, but by stating an ethical principle the truth of which they must accept and proceeding to discuss its implications.

ALAN BEETON.

Checkendon, Reading.

Effective Unity

May I be allowed to correct Mr. William E. Kirk who writes: "Ponsonby goes out of his way to attack Christianity."

I neither went out of my way nor did I attack Christianity. The argument I was pursuing in the sentence of my article he quotes was that we must act now and not wait till the sentimental appeal is issued by authority to induce people to fight. Against that neither religious nor rational arguments will be of any avail.

Further, I would disagree with him when he condemns this cooperation which Dick Sheppard so successfully organized in uniting, on one platform, speakers who start from different angles and reach the same conclusions.

I have repeatedly heard both the speeches of rationalists praised by actual ecclesiastics and the speeches of our church and chapel members warmly applauded by those who do not share their religious beliefs.

This mutual tolerance leading to effective unity is an achievement of which the Peace Pledge Union may well be proud.

ARTHUR PONSONBY.

Shulbrede Priory, Lynchmere, Haslemere.

As a Christian pacifist I find myself wondering what William E. Kirk means when he says "We cannot serve two masters, God and man."

As a Christian I find it impossible to serve God except through man, for my God is immanent in as well as transcendent over his creation. The Christ has taught me to see God in man, and I often see more of God in an agnostic than in a professing Christian.

NEIL MACKENZIE.

43 Devon Road, Bradshaw Estate, Watford.

Normality

I unfortunately missed seeing Philip Mumford's letter dealing with normality, but regarding "A. C. G.'s" letter of July 16, supporting it, in which he avers that pacifists are generally regarded as cranks to the extent to which they may be associated with the "isms," such as vegetarianism, &c., I would suggest to him that if that and crankism are indeed synonymous then that is the finest tribute to the latter that could possibly be paid, seeing that it is as scientifically (which is also morally) established that the frugiferous diet is natural for man, as it is scientifically (which is also morally) established that the mass-murder which is war is unnatural for man.

The question is—what is "A. C. G.'s" idea of normality? He is surely skating on thin ice if he suggests that the abominable horrors of the slaughter house and the consequent world-prevaling mental, moral and physical disease, suffering, and premature death resulting therefrom are normal.

It would be interesting to know where "A. C. G." would place Plato, John Howard, Edward Carpenter, Benjamin Franklin, the poet Shelley, Dr. Boyd Carpenter, John Wesley, Michelet, Maeterlinck, Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill, Paley, Francis W. Newman, Baron Cuvier, Jean Paul Richter, Oliver Goldsmith, and a whole host of other world-famous names.

BLANCHE A. WATSON.

Hull.

DISHONOUR?

Mr. Robert Hope's letter does not help us to solve the problems raised by "S" and Mr. Phipps Jones. In his attempt to excuse a failure to employ direct action, he makes some astonishing statements.

(a) It is difficult to say that any one thing is the root cause of war, and consequently he is able to say that armaments are not a root cause. All the same, it would be very difficult to fight a war without armaments, and it is common knowledge that armament firms deliberately foment scares and bad feeling between nations to gain orders, and therefore we can say that armaments are a root means of war.

(b) He says that "a disarmament conference tacitly admits that war is a legitimate method of policy." Quite the contrary. If war is legitimate why should anybody hold a conference with the idea of abolishing it?

(c) "Any palliation of warfare tends to preserve it as a policy." This again is a false piece of reasoning. It has two defects. Firstly, when an evil system gets humanized it does so because men are ceasing to believe in the system. That disbelief does not stand still; it grows and gathers momentum. Slavery was a case in point. Secondly, it assumes that the worse a thing is, the better it is, for men will then repudiate it more completely.

(d) "To resign your job as a protest will do little good until there is a sufficiently large number, &c." Women fought for votes for a long time until they were prepared to take direct action, and the same will be true of pacifists. What does he call a "sufficiently large number."

Does not that equally apply to those lonely, courageous, conscientious objectors abroad who are suffering long terms of imprisonment?

The truth is that one man who does something is worth a thousand who only talk about it. It is when the PPU members start action that the Government will sit up and take notice. I cannot advise "S" to give up his job, but I can advise him to decline to test machinery which he knows is for war work.

Mr. Hope, with regard to income tax, again proposes that we should put off the evil day in the pious hope that it will prove unnecessary. That also applies to murdering our foreign brothers; for, after all, why should we seek imprisonment for refusing to fight? If we only work constitutionally such unpleasantness may be avoided, and peace will eventually flutter down and make her home with us.

Are we slaves, or are we a free people? And if we have any freedom, does Mr. Hope imagine it was won by having a series of poster parades, or by voting the right ticket, or was it won by the example of the individual who was willing to lay down his life for the cause, without waiting for a problematical change of heart of the people? That change is wrought by the sacrifice.

A. G. HIGGINS.

Stapleton, near Pontefract.

Humanism

MR. WHITTINGHAM began by saying that humanism could have no meaning other than the one he chose to give it. He now admits that in practice there is little difference between it and humanitarianism, though he sees a "difference of principle." Is there not a greater difference of principle between Christ's teaching in the Sermon on the Mount and the advocacy of war, in which the Christian Church has indulged all down the ages, even to this day?

Possibly the Church took the point of view that the principle of the overcoming of evil with good was not distinctively Christian, and might therefore in practice be scrapped, and the overcoming of evil with evil substituted. But if the gospel "stands or falls as a whole," then it seems to me we have in this a good reason why some pacifists cannot accept a church with that particular record to its discredit, as the only safe guide for pacifists.

LAURENCE HOUSMAN.

Longmeadow, Street, Somerset.

The statements by Mr. Whittingham about humanism "constituting a tremendous danger to the establishment of peace," and "result will be more disastrous than any war has ever been," surely need some qualification.

If the suggestion is that even the good intentions of the humanist would produce more devastating results than any war, is not this an extraordinary accusation from one department of pacifism to another? And why should any labelled "approach" claim a monopoly of wisdom if through the various pigeon-holes of pacifism the breath of at least (and not a little least) one common purpose blows.

THOMAS B. PITFIELD.

116 Clark Road, Wolverhampton, Staffs. 1

SPEAKER AND A DISCUSSION

With reference to the letter in the PEACE NEWS from Mr. McIntyre Smith, may I state the following facts from the correspondence before me.

On May 30 we were asked for a speaker, but no mention was made of any discussion or debate. In accordance with our policy, stated in *The Fight Against Disease*, 1937 (page 9), we arranged for Sir Leonard Rogers to give an address and he was ready to answer questions afterward.

In a letter of June 19, he was asked to remain for a "discussion" with an unnamed exponent of "the opposing view." He pointed out that he had not undertaken to engage in any such discussion, but was willing to do so if his opponent was a medical man, for which there was still time to arrange. This condition was accepted by an opposition society in the case of Sir Leonard's last, and not unsuccessful debate.

Only on the morning of the meeting was he informed that his condition for speaking had not been fulfilled and only after the office was closed for the day was he set the impossible task of finding a substitute.

We regret if there has been any misunderstanding, but as it appears that the meeting was provided with an experienced speaker of their own choice, and Sir Leonard offered to give his address on a subsequent date, the organizers of the meeting clearly have no legitimate grievance against the Research Defence Society.

D. BURGESS BROWN.

Secretary, Research Defence Society.

11 Chandos Street, W.1.

COMMUNITY

Your correspondent, A. Mayo Redding, has written a letter which will find a warm response from certain members of the PPU. Pacifist communities dotted over the country would indeed solve many problems: that of possible victims; that (in time, perhaps) of refugees; that of the growing number who begin to realize that "great possessions"—and even small possessions—may come to block the way of life along which their peace pledge has been leading them.

I believe I need not remind your correspondent, but some of your readers may be glad to know, that Leslie Stubblings (of Chanceton, Dartnell Park, West Byfleet, Surrey), the honorary secretary of the Community Service Committee, is in touch with existing communities and with many individuals concerned. He knows, moreover, of land on which a community might be established.

May I add that above the Dick Sheppard Centre are a few rooms in which the leader of the Bayswater Group, Miss Ellen Dighton, is thinking of making an experiment in community living? There is a fine opportunity of service for any pacific community who will join her.

Mr. Barclay's register would work in well with the admirable scheme outlined by your correspondent.

G. M. FAULDING.

22 Westbourne Terrace Road, W.2.

Letters to the Editor should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper only. Owing to pressure on space we reserve the right to publish extracts from letters.

Correspondents must send their names and addresses, though not necessarily for publication.

Outside Our Sphere?

MR. F. W. BOURKE'S outspoken letter from New Zealand will find more support in this country than he himself seems to think. Increasing numbers, especially of the younger generation, do not neglect the study of social and economic problems, and do not hesitate to condemn the capitalist, imperialist state of society in which they live, realizing that war and war preparation are part and parcel of it.

There may be Conservative pacifists as Mr. Bourke suggests. I have not met any. There certainly are pacifists and people of good will who give support to political doctrines which are in contradiction to the principles of pacifism.

There are peace-minded people who speak of our "Commonwealth of Nations"—shy of using the word "empire"—apparently not realizing that one who believes in empire believes in the suppression, degradation, exploitation, and conscription of subject peoples.

To condone capitalism and preach pacifism is, to say the least, contradictory.

Those who have become convinced of the soundness of pacifist principles on religious, ethical, or humane grounds should realize that they are at the beginning of their pilgrimage, and that the pacifism which declines to relate itself to the thorny problems of practical everyday life will be sterile.

There would seem to be a danger with some, in the early stages of pacifist development, of becoming like many who were converted by the evangelical religion of a few decades ago and proceeded to devote the rest of their lives to money-making—some "rising" to be "prominent citizens" in a state of society based on the barbaric principle of "every man for himself."

Surely Mr. Bourke must be acquainted with articles by writers like Wilfred Wellock, as full of a realization of pacifism in relation to the class struggle as can be found anywhere. At any rate, he has sent us a vigorous challenge from the other side of the world. We must not ignore it.

JAMES HENDERSON.

York.

It is to be hoped that "a reasonable profit" will not be considered as "outside our sphere." If any man will meditate a few moments, he must realize that peace can only become a fact when every race and society possesses such a system as to guarantee contentment and plenty among its people.

The evils of over-distribution are well illustrated in the milk problem in London, which is actually under review.

If six milkmen sell milk in one street which could be served by one, then five are redundant; five milkmen, five small bottle-washing plants, boilers, &c., have to be supported by the consumer.

If those five men were on the "dole" the burden to the public would be less.

The men complain that they have a right to earn an honest living. Certainly, so has a steeple jack, but I cannot afford to let him build a factory chimney in my back yard.

Your correspondents infer that a retail system is necessary to the process of trade. Many manufacturing firms deal direct with consumers; others invite the public, in advertisements, to send to them for samples. If samples, why not a regular supply?

If it is remembered that there is only one source of revenue, the consumer, then it will be seen that an uncontrolled distributive system cannot make for a practical economic and social order; that the retailer, in fact, is a parasite. If he is allowed to grow unchecked he must eventually suck the very life-blood from the wage-earner.

All this may seem far removed from the sale of an ARP cabinet, but if I thought this cabinet meant life or death to my family (as we are to understand it may) then, if I were a railway porter with less than two pounds a week, I would certainly feel, regarding that four shillings, that somebody, somewhere, was not playing the game.

PERCY A. HILL.

West View, Loxwood, Sussex.

UNEMPLOYMENT

In the 'Public Affairs Commentary' of the July 9 issue of PEACE NEWS, Vigilant writes: "The real danger comes from this social evil [unemployment], and for that we have literally no suggestion, either from the Conservative or Labour side." Surely this is a very serious mistake, for Labour has a great many schemes all ready, for doing away with unemployment.

To enumerate only some of these, there are:—

1. Raising the school leaving age which will keep children out of industry.
2. Providing adequate pensions at a lower age than at present, which will take the older people off the labour market.
3. Schemes of public development, which will mean the employment of an increased number of people in the building, engineering, transport, &c.
4. Improvement in conditions of rural housing, provision of sanitation and water supply in the villages, and the raising generally of the farm

(continued on page 14, col. 1)

(continued from page 13, col. 4)

workers standard of life, which will mean a big increase in the number of agricultural workers.

5. Making "every endeavour to remove the economic causes of international rivalry," (to quote Labour's Immediate Programme), which will mean the release of trade and shipping from the restrictions by which they are now hampered, so that ships and men, which are now idle, will resume work.

It is obvious that Labour attaches great importance to the problem, for in the first section of its programme it suggests a National Investment Board, one of whose duties will be "to advise the Government on a financial plan for the full employment of our people."

Is "Vigilant" complaining because these schemes are not put before the present Parliament, and does he see the very faintest chance of their being accepted by a Conservative Government?

Incidentally, the degree of obstruction by a capitalist government would be equally great if schemes for abolishing unemployment were put forward by the Peace Pledge Union instead of by the Labour Party.

I find it very difficult to understand the aggressiveness toward Labour which sometimes mars an otherwise splendid paper.

To censure Labour when it supports the Government's armaments programme is consistent and right, but to accuse Labour of a failure of which it is not guilty is surely the reverse of pacifism because it is so unjust.

(Miss) M. E. GREENSTREET.

"Glenside," Temple Ewell, Dover, Kent.

I think "Vigilant's" comments on the last page of PEACE NEWS, dated July 9, should not be allowed to go unchallenged. I refer particularly to the paragraph dealing with unemployment, and the suggestion that Germany has successfully tackled the unemployment problem.

Surely it is a well-attested fact that, since the advent of Nazism in Germany, the general level of wages and the standard of living of the workers have fallen considerably; further, that unemployed men are drafted into labour camps where they receive no pay. Do we want to see our unemployed conscripted into labour camps.

The only country in the world that has successfully tackled the problem of unemployment at the roots is Russia. Socialism is the only solution of the problem.

EDITH M. THOMPSON.

Joint Secretary.

Highgate PPU group.

16 Milton Road, Highgate, N.6.

POINTS for the PLATFORM

Something More than Pawns

AFTER flying "round the world" in four days, Howard Hughes made this appeal to his fellow airmen:

If flyers would realize that they are something more than pawns on a chessboard—then, I believe, all this killing would come to a stop.

More Money for the R.A.F.

A SUPPLEMENTARY Estimate issued last week shows that the RAF expansion, announced in May, will cost £22,901,000. All but £1,000 of this sum is to be met from loan.

The estimate provides for an increase of 13,000 of the personnel of the RAF, bringing the total up to 96,000. The revised net total of the Air Estimates for this year is now £126,401,000.

By 1940

AN explanatory note issued with the Estimate says that the aim of the new expansion programme is to attain "a first-line home strength of approximately 2,370 aircraft by March 31, 1940."

Europe's Air Forces

THE following approximate figures of the front-line air forces of European nations were given in the *News Chronicle* on Thursday of last week:—

	Machines.
Great Britain	2,000
France	2,500
Czechoslovakia	550
Germany	3,500
Italy	2,000
Russia	4,000
Poland	550

Included in the figure of Britain are aircraft based in India and other countries abroad.

Respirators

BECAUSE they were only required on infrequent occasions the Minister of Health said last Friday that the provision by the Government of a number of Bragg-Paul respirators (or "iron lungs") at various centres would not be justified.

Since the Government is providing large numbers of ARP respirators at centres throughout the country, are we to assume that—despite official deprecation of the suggestion—frequent use is expected to be made of them?

DIARY OF THE WEEK

July

23 (Sat.) DURHAM; 2 p.m. open-air meeting at Miners' Gala; James H. Hudson and other PPU speakers.

MANCHESTER; 2.30 and 6.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Mount Street; area meeting; Canon Stuart Morris; PPU.

BLACKHEATH; 3 p.m. 123 Coleraine Road; garden party; PPU.

SOUTHBOROUGH; 4 p.m. 20 Yew Tree Road (off wet Friends' Meeting House, Tunbridge Wells); garden meeting; discussions led by Mrs. Max Plowman; PPU.

23—29 (Sat.—Fri.) MATLOCK BATH; Cromford Court; summer conference; subject, "The Kingdom and its Relationships"; For.

24 (Sun.) HYDE PARK; 3 p.m. manifesto campaign demonstration; George Lansbury, Canon Stuart Morris, James H. Hudson, and Max Plowman; PPU.

OTLEY; 7.30 p.m. Market Place; open-air meeting; Keighley PPU group.

SEVERN BEACH, near Bristol; 7.30 p.m. open-air meeting; PPU.

26 (Tues.) LONDON, N.W.1; 1.20 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road; Rev. Louis Clinton Wright on "Anglo-American Understanding"; Peace Committee of London Friends.

ROMFORD; 8 p.m. The Market; open-air meeting; Bernard Lawson; For.

28 (Thurs.) LONDON, E.C.4; 1.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Wallace Hancock on "Secretary of State for Peace"; City PPU group.

LONDON, E.C.4; 5.30 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Pat Coleman on "A Working Man's Objections to Pacifism"; City PPU group.

29 (Fri.) SWANSEA; 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, High Street; Miss Jolliffe on "Facts and Figures"; PPU.

31 (Sun.) BRISTOL; 8 p.m. St. Andrew's Park; L. O. Brown, Leslie Wells, E. Humphries, and Reginald Wallis (chairman); PPU.

MACCLESFIELD; 8.15 p.m. Market Place; open-air meeting; Society of Friends.

COMING SHORTLY

August.

7 (Sun.) MORECAMBE; 8.30 p.m. Royalty Theatre; Canon Stuart Morris, Nigel Spottiswoode, and Rev. F. F. Pepper (chairman); PPU; reserved seats (6d. each) obtainable from F. Hellowell, Hatlex Drive, Hest Bank.

"Have you been shocked by the bombing and machine-gunning from the air in Spain and in China? Have you realized that, whenever you hear an RAF plane overhead it may mean that some young airman is being trained to do the same? Why not work for general agreement to abolish all warfare?" That is the gist of a new leaflet issued by the Northern Friends' Peace Board, Spring Bank, Rawdon, near Leeds and the Friends' Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1. The price is 9d. per 100.

What Price A.R.P.?

FROM an account of the bombing of Barcelona in March, broadcast from London by Mr. John Langdon-Davies:

There were only two minutes between one alarm and the reporting of the bombs. That means that in actual fact the bombs dropped before the alarm. The real order of events was bombs dropped, aeroplanes seen, alarm given.

The Air Department had the latest electromagnetic and sound detectors, and could detect an aeroplane engine 50 miles off; but that did them no good in the March raids. The bombers came silently, rose to 30,000 feet, shut off their engines, and glided 100 miles. They reached Barcelona undetected, and dropped their bombs from 10,000 feet before the city knew they were there.

A man who had been enlisted to help in the salvage said that after one raid it took 100 men working day and night for two weeks to get the road clear for traffic and nine days before the last body was got out.

Accurate official observers agreed that on no occasion did the bombers stop more than two minutes, but, of course, the people thought themselves in danger almost the whole time. Thirteen visits of two minutes, 26 minutes in all, disorganized a million and a half people for 40 hours and more. . . . It was the general opinion that these raids, carried out with the technique of silent approach and repeated again and again, were not so important for the deaths they caused as for what they did to the living.

Hypnotized?

UNLESS something can be done to change the present direction of progress, progress, it is obvious, will end in destruction. In part, of course, our trouble is due to our own stupidity. I went last week to the cinema and watched human beings, hypnotized by the exhibition of their own powers, applauding in the news-reel the manoeuvres of the instruments of destruction which are designed to enable them to kill one another from even greater distances, from ever safer altitudes, in ever greater numbers, and by ever more painful methods.

—C. E. M. Joad in *Time and Tide*.

Keep Sane

THE most formidable obstacle to war is psychological unpreparedness. In spite of all we are told, war is not a normal thing. It is a dreadful abnormality, a frightful social disease. Preparing people's minds for it involves a difficult process of breaking down natural inhibitions and producing an abnormal psychology. In other words, the realities of armed conflict are today so terrible that it is impossible to drag people into it unless governments create a particular type of social insanity.

—Harold E. Fey in *The Christian Century*, Chicago

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LECTURES

THE FUTILITY AND SUICIDAL POLICY OF WAR; the above address given by Captain Butcher, 75, Lexham Gardens, Kensington. Anytime, anywhere (10 miles radius) without fee or expenses.

Dick Sheppard House At Ilford

From Our Own Correspondent

A Dick Sheppard House was opened at 53 York Road, Ilford, last week, by the local groups of the Peace Pledge Union, Fellowship of Reconciliation, and Methodist Peace Fellowship.

Although an official opening ceremony has yet to be arranged, it will be open from seven to ten o'clock every evening, when visitors will be welcomed.

The house is situated opposite Ilford Station, York Road entrance. Furniture of all descriptions is still needed, and offers should be sent to Mr. Leary, 11 Reynolds Avenue, Chadwell Heath, Romford, Essex.

Pacifist Message at Methodist Conference

From our Own Correspondent

The Hull and District groups of the Peace Pledge Union, Fellowship of Reconciliation and Methodist Peace Fellowship, which have a good deal of common membership, did not allow to pass by the opportunity for propaganda provided by the Methodist Conference in their town.

They chose the three biggest meetings and paraded them with specially chosen posters. On Monday of last week seventeen of them went to the City Hall, where the Archbishop of York was speaking, and marched round the block six times, to the stupefaction of all beholders.

On the Thursday was the conference peace meeting, addressed by Mr. George Lansbury and the Rev. Hickman Johnson at Queen's Road. By permission of the minister, a pacifist supporter, pacifists stood outside the church for half an hour with posters and literature. About 3,000 people must have seen them, and they sold out of PEACE NEWS.

On Saturday the performance was repeated at St. George's Road, where another packed meeting on "Social Service" was addressed by the Rev. Donald Soper, the Rev. Noel Hutchcroft, and the Rev. E. Benson Perkins. There cannot have been many at the conference who did not have their attention drawn to the pacifist issue.

Spain: Women's Call for Armistice

A resolution adopted last week by the executive committee of the British Section of the Women's International League asked the Government

to use its utmost influence, in the negotiations of the Non-Intervention Committee for the withdrawal of foreign soldiers from Spain, to win the agreement of both sides to call an armistice directly the commissions are ready to start counting the numbers of foreign soldiers.

Another resolution urged the Government to propose at the next League Assembly meeting an increase in the medical aid for China organized under the League.

POLITICAL

PACIFISTS who want political action should join the People's Peace Front. Particulars from Secretary, 17 Featherstone Buildings, London, W.C.1.

SERVICES

AS PLANNED BY DICK SHEPPARD. Celebrations of the Holy Communion take place in the Crypt of St. Paul's every Wednesday at 7.45 a.m., when prayers are offered for the renunciation of war and for those engaged in the peace movement.

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RIVAL INTERESTS IN CHINA

THE conflict between China and Japan is bound to affect British interests in the Far East, but it is not generally realized to what extent this is taking place.

"Partly as a result of Chinese propaganda and partly as a result of lack of knowledge of the facts, it is sometimes thought that the changes taking place in China will be detrimental to British interests," says the *East Asia News Service*, which tries to calm these British fears.

According to Professor C. E. Remer's *Foreign Investments in China* the industrial investments and loans of Great Britain and Japan are:—

Great Britain	£294,600,000
Japan	£268,450,000

These figures comprise 36.7 percent and 35.1 percent respectively of the estimated total foreign investments.

"It has been frequently pointed out by the Japanese authorities," continues *East Asia News Service*, "that they desire equal opportunities for all Powers in China, and that there should be opportunities for both Britain and America to make investments freely and with confidence."

"IN NO DANGER"

An attempt is then made to show that the most important British factories in China are not in any danger. For instance, the chairman of the Pekin Syndicate is quoted as saying on July 6 that

Both the Chinese and, later on, the Japanese military are reported to have respected our property, and appear to have gone out of their way to see that as little damage as possible was done to it.

Nevertheless, *The Times* reported on Monday that two British employees of the Chuntah cotton mill had been compelled by the Japanese to leave under threat of arrest, and that the property had been occupied by the Japanese Toyoda Mill Company, backed by the Japanese military authorities.

In reply to fears that all trade will be monopolized by Japan, the *East Asia News Service* quotes Mr. Butler, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, as saying that "there is as yet little evidence of damage to British trade on this account."

WARNING TO FINANCIERS

Despite assertions that interest at present owed by China is being met, the *East Asia News Service* virtually admits that China is not a safe sphere for British financiers. Quoting a *Daily Herald* report that "All the plans have been made in London for a British loan to China," it comments:

The paper does not say whether the plans have been made by the lenders or receivers—presumably the latter, as "*East Asia News Service*" has not discovered any reputable financial concern at present prepared to risk money in China.

A CONCESSION

According to *The Times* last week a few British subjects having urgent business at Nanking will shortly be granted permission to return to their properties in that city.

It is stated that the Japanese Foreign Office has consistently maintained that Japan has no objection to the return of British subjects in the occupied areas. The decision in specific cases, however, must rest with the naval and military authorities on the spot, who until now have taken the view that such a return of neutral civilians is either unsafe or likely to impede necessary military operations.

Results of Evian Conference on Refugees

LIMITATIONS OF PERMANENT COMMITTEE

ALTHOUGH the scope of the permanent inter-governmental committee—which, as expected, has resulted from the Evian Conference on Refugees—is limited, at any rate for the present, to refugees from Germany and Austria, the way has been left open for it to extend its work in the future.

The present limitation of its scope was apparently due to the rigid interpretation of the conference's terms of reference adopted by the British and French delegations.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The resolution adopted at the final public session of the conference last Friday recommended:

That the persons coming within the scope of the activities of the inter-governmental committee should be persons who have not already left their country of origin—i.e., Germany, including Austria—but who desire to emigrate on account of their political opinions, religious beliefs, or racial origin, and persons so defined who have already left their countries of origin and who have not established themselves permanently elsewhere;

That the governments taking part in the inter-governmental committee shall continue to furnish the committee with strictly confidential information on:

Union Refuses Cooperation in Rearmament

ELECTRICIANS OBJECT TO GOVERNMENT'S FOREIGN POLICY

How Unions Were Tricked into Dilution during the War

DELEGATES at the conference of the Electrical Trades Union in Torquay last week expressed opposition to any attempt at dilution of labour in carrying out the Government's armament programme. A resolution adopted expressed inability to cooperate with the Government in its armament programme in view of the foreign policy pursued.

Meanwhile a joint meeting of the executives of engineering and shipbuilding unions was arranged to take place at York on Wednesday to consider further the attitude to be taken at the next meeting with engineering employers regarding the arms speed-up.

There is apprehension among members of the unions concerned lest dilution should be thrust upon them, as it was during the War. On that occasion specific pledges were given but were never carried out.

Direct negotiations between employers and trade unions on the problems of labour organization took place not long after the outbreak of the War. Similar negotiations have begun once again. Of the war-time talks, G. D. H. Coles writes, in *The Economic and Social History of the War*.

During the last months of 1914 negotiations took place between the unions and the Clyde employers; and the latter, taking advantage of a technicality, spun them out for a considerable time without allowing them to reach an issue.

The Government took a hand in the following year (1915), when Mr. Lloyd George began the series of negotiations which led up to the

Treasury Agreement (abandonment of the strike weapon); Munitions of War Act (compulsory arbitration and compulsory dilution of labour); and the Military Service Act (conscription and men working in factories threatened with recall to the colours if they misbehaved).

The Economic and Social History of the War says of the introduction of dilution that

came, not as a sudden and complete sweeping away of one system in the workshops in favour of another, but as a long series of piece-meal changes.

In January, 1916, the Military Service Act completed the process of conscription. Unrest followed. In March, men at Beardmore's went on strike. David Kirkwood and five others were arrested one night and deported.

The Defence of the Realm Act was invoked to implement Government-Union agreements, and a "sedition" hunt followed.

William Gallacher and James Maxton were put in prison for twelve months, and John Maclean for three years. Following

the loss of their leaders the men on the Clyde returned to work.

EFFECTS

Writing in *The Tribune* on April 1, 1938, G. D. H. Coles declared that dilution broke down old established craft standards; and in its train came the conveyor belt, the Bedaux system, and all the other methods that are prevalent at present of getting much more than an hour's work for an hour's pay.

One of the results was that skilled men were put solely on to the most highly skilled work, without a corresponding increase in wage-rates. On the jobs on which the skilled men had formerly worked, semi-skilled labour was employed.

Women, too, were introduced into factories in large numbers. The following figures, supplied by the Labour Research Department, illustrate this:—

	Women Employed July, 1914	July, 1918	Females directly replacing males
Metal industry	170,000 (7%)	594,000 (9%)	195,000
Total	2,178,600 (26%)	2,970,000 (37%)	704,000

In *Wages and Labour Conditions in British Engineering*, by M. L. Yates, the increase in semi-skilled labour during and since the War is shown in the following table, based on figures supplied by the Engineering Employers' Federation:—

	1914	1921	1933	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled
1914	60	20	20			
1921	50	30	20			
1933	32	57	11			

The dilution of labour had originally been agreed to by the unions after promises by the Government that conditions would return to normal after the War.

BROKEN PROMISES

The Supplementary Treasury Agreement of March 25, 1915, contained the promise that the Government will undertake to use its influence to secure the restoration of previous conditions in every case after the War, while the Munitions of War Act, 1915, said:—

Any departure during the War from the practices ruling in the workshops, shipyards, and other industries prior to the War, shall only be for the period of the War.

During the War itself full records were kept of changes in employment, in the hope that a return to former conditions would be implemented. When the time came for that, however, these records were ignored. Vast changes had taken place in the engineering industry and no return to old conditions was intended.

In November, 1918, a Wages (Temporary) Regulation Act was passed, after the Munitions of War Acts had been repealed, but the Government made no attempt to fulfil the war-time pledges.

A period of widespread conflict accompanied the onset of a great industrial depression in the winter of 1920. On March 11, 1922, the engineering employers began a lock-out over the issue of "managerial rights," as a result of which the unions were defeated and the employers were able to cut wages and reorganize work so that fewer men were paid at skilled rates.

News of Note this Week

DICTATOR'S HENCHMEN

Behind the visit of the Hungarian Premier and Foreign Minister to Rome early this week were the consequences of the German acquisition of Austria for the Rome Protocols—which joined Italy, Hungary and Austria politically and economically. *The Times* explained that the present visit would first be concerned with "tidying up" the severed ends of the Protocols. There was also a possibility that Mussolini would press the Hungarians to leave the League, while the Czech question was also due for discussion.

OLYMPIC GAMES IN FINLAND

Following withdrawal by Japan of her invitation to hold the 1940 Olympic Games in her country, Finland has accepted an invitation to act as host.

NEW LEAGUE DEFECTION

Intimation of Venezuela's decision to withdraw from the League of Nations was given to the Secretary-General last week. It was stated that the Venezuelan Government would, however, guided by League ideals, "continue to support all efforts to maintain the rule of law and peace."

HIGHER COST OF LIVING

The weather has been blamed for a rise last month in the cost of living index, which is now higher than at any time since July, 1929.

GERMAN LABOUR SCARCITY

The number of people employed in Germany on June 30 was 20,000,000, according to returns published last week. The unemployed numbered 275,000—a decrease for the month of 46,000. Figures showed an increase in the number of women employed in Germany, and a reduction in Austrian unemployment figures from 600,000 (on March 31) to 274,627.

German Plea to Britain

Writing in *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, Dr. Silex, the editor, stated that everything in the world depended on the relationship between Britain and Germany, but he pointed out that Germany could never be a useful ally of Britain as long as she felt herself threatened with multiple fronts to defend.

Britain, he said, needed a peaceful Europe for her world policy, so it would surely be in her interest that the country which formed the heart of Europe should be in a secure position. The tragedy was that the efforts of Germany to secure her position were felt by the British as a threat.

This Dr. Silex described as the crux of the tragic conflict; an England which would not recognize the Continental position of Germany could not expect that Germany would support her overseas policy.

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PEACE NEWS

July 23, 1938

Public Affairs Commentary (continued from page 1)

HITLER'S LONDON INQUIRIES

THE Paris visit was responsible for the flying visit paid to London just after the weekend by Captain Wiedemann, Hitler's aide-de-camp, who brought from his master a personal message of good will toward the British Government. Hitler, said Captain Wiedemann, was not at all satisfied with Anglo-German relations and believed a real and lasting improvement to be possible.

Lord Halifax is to be congratulated on suggesting that the will for cooperation, to which Captain Wiedemann had referred, might be shown in the refugee problem.

The *Manchester Guardian's* Diplomatic Correspondent went to some trouble on Wednesday to prove his assertion that Hitler was anxious to find out if Britain was bluffing over the question of Czechoslovakia.

If Hitler believed Britain was not bluffing—in other words if she were pursuing what the *Manchester Guardian* would probably describe as "collective resistance to aggression"—then "the war with Czechoslovakia will not come this year." (The italics are my own.)

For a policy that will make the future brighter for longer than a year we must therefore look outside the ranks of the supporters of collective security.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: LESSON OF RUMOURS

WHILE reports from Germany last weekend were spreading rumours of Czech troop movements, those from Prague indicated that full agreement had been reached among the parties supporting the Coalition Government on the policy to meet the demands of the country's minorities of various nationalities (but mainly, of course, German).

If these alarmist reports (which were quickly denied) were intended to prejudice public opinion against Czechoslovakia, it can only be because the Germans have no better case against the Czech Government's proposals for meeting the legitimate needs of their minority.

In which case, the sooner those proposals are made public for all to judge for themselves, the better, and the less the Czechs will have to fear.

But if the idea is to emphasize the danger which Germany feels from Czechoslovakia and her powerful ally, Russia, it will be well for Czechoslovakia's "elders," as the German press calls Britain and France, to realize that this is the crux of the Czechoslovakian problem and to turn their attention to removing the necessity for such military alliances. Their responsibility for this is much greater than for Czechoslovakia's internal problem.

SPAIN: THIRD YEAR OF WAR

THE opening of the third year of the war in Spain finds the rebel forces meeting very stiff resistance in their attempt to advance on Valencia.

Those who, for "ideological" reasons, associate themselves with either side in Spain, will not hear of an armistice. Not so the Spanish Premier. He said on Sunday that the solution of the Spanish problem

is conditional on the elimination of foreign intervention... If that could be brought about the differences between Spaniards would be rapidly solved.

Evidently Dr. Negrin is too much of a statesman to share some of his sympathizers' desire for Spain's agony to be indefinitely prolonged for the sake of the class war. On the other hand there is justification for protests against the suggestion of mediation being forced upon Republican Spain so that it can be made the unhappy victim of a power-politics "deal" with the dictators.

L.N.U. RESIGNATION

THE League of Nations Union has undoubtedly lost an able secretary with the resignation of Dr. Maxwell Garnett. Writing last week to the chairman of the union's executive committee (Lord Lytton), he indicated that his resignation was prompted by a majority resolution of the executive to the effect that "they would prefer to have a new secretary."

The resignation comes as no surprise to those who have watched the LNU's activities in recent months. Dr. Garnett himself, in his letter, referred to tendencies which have given some cause for alarm

among those who had hoped that the union, despite its natural support of the war method—natural in view of the provision in the League Covenant for the use of that method—might have very great influence in the direction of establishing the essential principle of the League—cooperation among nations in the business of living together.

Instead, the LNU has lately tended to encourage, rather than discourage, the narrow conception of the League's essential principle which interprets it as cooperation among the "peaceful" nations in the business of compelling the "aggressor" nations to stop being aggressive.

Dr. Garnett would not, probably, put it that way. Indeed, all he said was that it would be the greatest possible mistake... were education in League principles... to be sacrificed to agitation on behalf of a single school of political thought.

And, of course, Lord Lytton's reply disclaimed any such intention. But his reference to

differences of opinion as to the ways in which our common policy should best be expressed and as to the emphasis which should be given to different features of it from time to time, taken together with Dr. Garnett's remarks, may be regarded as the indirect way of admitting what has long been clear, namely that the collective principle—already widely advocated in its negative, destructive aspect—is being exploited by the purely anti-fascist "school of political thought" for its own ends.

AGRICULTURE, BRITAIN AND GERMANY

WHILE the British Prime Minister declares that self-sufficiency in foodstuffs would spell ruin to this country, Germany is pursuing a vigorous national back-to-the-land policy. By offering grants and loans, she aims at making the working conditions in the country comparable to those ruling in the cities.

The interesting feature about the loans is that they are interest-free and they become grants when the borrower has completed a period of years working on the land either as a small holder, or farmer, or on work of reforestation. The sum involved is not inconsiderable and amounts to something like £150 per person at the present rate of exchange. To meet the housing difficulties on the countryside, special tax rebates have been introduced to cover the cost of houses built before 1941.

To overcome the vested interests of the large and powerful landowners, all lands have been freed from entail with a view to allowing them to be cultivated by suitable and independent peasants.

In England the Labour Party has undertaken an agricultural campaign which is causing the Conservatives a great deal of uneasiness.

The policy which the Labour Party advocates is one that is aimed to appeal more to the farmers than to the farm labourers. The Party advocates the state ownership of agricultural land, a guaranteed price for farm produce, the encouragement of the production of more milk, eggs, vegetables, and fruit and lastly, a control of the middleman whereby the consumer can benefit from lower distribution costs.

As, however, in agriculture (as in every other economic problem) the main difficulties arise from a dearth of purchasing power in the masses of the people, neither the German nor the Labour Party policies can be properly judged till some information is available as to the way this bigger problem is to be solved.

OIL FROM COAL

THE report of an advisory committee of the Labour Party to inquire into production of oil from coal recommends production of about 100,000,000 gallons of motor spirit from home produced coal, representing about seven percent of petrol imports. It would mean a capital cost of £17,650,000, and give permanent employment to about 11,500 workers, including the miners raising the coal.

There is a great deal to be said for a policy of home production of essential necessities—even regardless of cost. Our present dependence on foreign importations leads to a sense of insecurity which expresses itself in an immense and expensive navy.

But this Labour Party report bases its main argument on the necessities of de-

(continued in next column)



The centre of the attraction to the crowds in this picture is a tableau entered in the local infirmary procession by the Huddersfield group of the Peace Pledge Union. The tableau depicted a garden scene, the mother with her baby in her arms, and other kiddies playing nearby. It was entitled "War's New Target."

BATONS ISSUED TO AIR RAID WARDENS

Must Agree to Become "Specials"

BECAUSE he asked for a written undertaking that his services would not be required for strike-breaking or similar work, Mr. A. E. Edwards was ordered out of Ogmore Vale police station when he went to enlist as an air raid warden.

He had refused to be sworn in unless he received the guarantee for which he had asked.

Mr. Edwards is furnishing manager of the Nantymoel Cooperative Society.

The entire staff of this society, for refusing to have anything to do with the special constabulary, has been deprived of the right to become air raid wardens.

When Councillor Fred Llewellyn made these facts known at a meeting of the Glamorgan County Council, Mr. Henry Rowland, the Clerk, declared that the police did not enrol air raid wardens.

"WHY BATONS FOR ARP?"

Another councillor, Mr. Llewellyn Jones, of Rhondda, said that in certain districts ARP volunteers were not accepted unless they signed a certain form. If they signed that form they were provided with batons.

"Why batons are necessary for air raid precautions, I don't know," commented Mr. Jones.

Mr. Edwards himself later revealed that when he and his colleagues protested against signing the form two magistrates were present, Mrs. Anderson and Mr. T. Llewellyn, and that the latter upheld their objection.

(continued from foot of column 2)

fence in wartime. A policy which could have been presented as a step forward to a world freed from the menace of war is presented as a necessity because of the menace of war.

This is but another indication of how far the official Labour thought has turned away from social progress to national militarization.

Published from Editorial and Publishing Offices, 17, Featherstone Buildings, London, W.C.1, by "Peace News" Ltd. (registered office, 96, Regent Street, London, W.1), and printed for them by The Walthamstow Press, Ltd. (T.U.), Guardian House Forest Road, London, E.17.

STOP PRESS

MANIFESTO MARCH

Reports already received of meetings at Carlisle, Shap, Kendal, Manchester, show great deal of sympathetic interest being aroused by Manifesto campaign.

HITLER'S LONDON INQUIRIES

(Col. 1, this page)
Times Berlin correspondent, Thursday, made it clear Hitler intended hint that Anglo-French decisions on policy regarding Czechoslovakia "will be fateful for the future of Anglo-German relations." Such decisions must therefore, to ensure peace, provide for cooperation of Germany with other interested States in removing causes of Czech tension, not for alliances (open or secret) designed to meet German threats with other threats.